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EDITORIAL

THE SECOND OF THE SPECIAL SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY ISSUES CELEBRATING THE coming of the Russian Mennonites to North America (1873-1875) is presented in the current number of the REVIEW. Over half of the number is devoted to two extensive documentary articles. The first, "John F. Funk's Land Inspection Trips as Recorded in His Diaries, 1872 and 1873" gives Funk's own story of his trip with young Bernhard Warkentin into Minnesota and eastern Dakota from September 18 to October 2, 1872, and his more important trip to Manitoba, Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa and Missouri in the following summer, June 2 to July 26, 1873, as an official guide and companion of the delegation of twelve Mennonite leaders from South Russia and eastern Prussia which was sent by their congregations to prepare the way for a large-scale migration to North America. The diaries of Funk have never been published, and seldom, if ever, been used in writing the story of the Russian Mennonite migration in North America. They are interesting and revealing personal accounts by an intelligent observer. They should be read in connection with the article on "John F. Funk and the Mennonite migration of 1873-1875" in the first anniversary number, written by Kempes Schnell, who has also edited the diary material which is herewith presented.

The second of the documentary articles is the final installment of the mass of documents and public records dealing with the immigration of the Russian Mennonites as edited by Professor Ernst Correll of the American University, Washington, D.C., and which has been published in successive installments in the REVIEW since 1937. Since a full introductory statement is given by the REVIEW editor at the head of the article, nothing further need be said here except to emphasize again the high value of this documentary publication. Nothing like it has ever been undertaken in the whole scope of American Mennonite historiography. The publication is not exhaustive, but we believe that all the major significant material has now been published, and a sufficient guide given to future workers in this field so that all the pertinent material can be found in the various governmental archives of the United States and Canada. Scholars are greatly indebted to Professor Correll for his valuable work in editing this very extensive documentary collection.

"TRADITION AND PROGRESS AMONG THE MENNONITES OF MANITOBA" REPRESENTS AN altogether different approach to the history of the Mennonite settlements in Manitoba. In this intensely interesting study, Professor E. K. Francis, of the University of Notre Dame, gives an understanding and penetrating analysis of the struggle and conflict which has taken place in the seventy-five years-long process of acculturation which has been going on in the conservative Mennonite settlements in southern Manitoba. Professor Francis, himself a post-World War immigrant of Austrian-German Catholic background, as a result of his extended first-hand study of the colonies and their history and his sympathetic appreciation of the group and its problems, has been able to penetrate beneath the surface of the process which has been going on and presents well-grounded interpretative judgments. His final conclusion, that the Manitoba Mennonites have been successful in maintaining themselves as a distinctive social group within the larger social order of Anglo-Saxon Canada and America, with cultural and spiritual values well worth perpetuating, and, that they have basically conquered their problems and have come constructively through the recent dangerous period of threatening disintegration, is most heartening for those who believe in the values which the Anabaptist-Mennonite group has to contribute to our modern world. Perhaps nowhere else in all of North America has the struggle been so direct and hard for Mennonites as here. Certainly the Mennonites of Manitoba have not yet solved all of their problems, but they are on the way. It is also important to note that a major contribution, if not the decisive one, to the successful outcome to the struggle in Manitoba was made by the "newcomers" of the immigration of 1922-25. We await with eager anticipation the full book on the Manitoba Mennonites by Professor Francis which is soon to appear in Toronto.

THE SECTION-"BIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES" PRESENTS THIS TIME THE FIRST comprehensive and exhaustive report on Hutterite research. Professor Friedmann writes as one who has been in the midst of this research for almost a generation and who has himself made a major contribution. We hope with him that the large amount of available unpublished Hutterite documentary material may still reach print. Inasmuch as the Hutterites came to America along with the Russian Mennonites in the migration of seventy-five years ago, this research report fits well into the anniversary number.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Vol. XXIV No. 4

JOHN F. FUNK'S LAND INSPECTION TRIPS AS RECORDED IN HIS DIARIES, 1872 AND 1873

Edited by Kempes Schnell

John F. Funk[1], Mennonite minister and publisher of Elkhart, Indiana, as early as 1870 became interested in the plight of the Mennonites in Russia, who were facing the loss of their religious privileges. In his *Herald of Truth* editorials and news notes, he kept his readers informed of their difficulties and of their plans to investigate America as a place for possible settlement. In the autumn of 1872 he accompanied Bernhard Warkentin[2], a young Russian Mennonite then visiting in America, on a land inspection trip in Minnesota and eastern Dakota, on the invitation of M. C. Hazard of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. Leaving his home in Elkhart, Indiana, on September 18, 1872, he went to Minneapolis, arriving there on the evening of the next day. On September 20, Warkentin and Funk called on the contractor for the Northern Pacific Railroad, George Brackett, to inquire of him concerning soil and water conditions along the James and Cheyenne rivers. Later that day they visited the Minnesota State Fair to see the agricultural products displayed by the Northern Pacific. After a busy day they retired to their hotel room, "thanking God for all His good

1 See July, 1950, Review for an article on "John F. Funk, 1835-1930, and the Mennonite Migration of 1873-1875."

2 See July, 1950, Review for "Some Letters of Bernhard Warkentin Pertaining to the Migration of 1873-1875."

and protection." On Saturday, September 21, they proceeded to Duluth by train, where on the next day they heard two sermons by "Reverend Dr. Kerr" from Scotland. The extracts below from Funk's diary[3] relate their activities during the following days and indicate how thoroughly the two men studied conditions having to do with the possible success or failure of settlements in that area.

Because of the sketchy nature of the notes in Funk's diary, the entries were slightly revised in the material quoted below. Trivia were omitted.

Saturday evening, September 21, 1872—Went on the train and next morning at seven arrived at Duluth, Minnesota. Duluth is three years old, has some seven or eight churches, a population of over four thousand, two railroads, a line of steam navigation docks, warehouses, stores, two daily papers, five miles of graded streets and a first class hotel. I went to Clark house to the Congregational Church in the morning and heard Reverend Dr. Kerr from Scotland preach from Psalms 137:4. In the afternoon I wrote and in the evening attended church and heard the Doctor from Scotland preach from I John 4:10.

Monday, September 23 — Rose at 4 o'clock. Wrote a letter to P. Schlabach,[4] and then continued to write in a room without fire and felt comfortable. Passed along St. Louis Bay for some twenty miles. A physician from Duluth says that at this date no frost has been had yet at Duluth.

Am at Aiken, eighty eight miles west of Duluth. Here is a nice station and freight house, a water tank and other buildings; a store and several residence houses. The balance of the area is an interminable wilderness of birch and pine trees and Indian wigwams.

At Brainard one hundred fifteen miles west of Duluth and a town twenty months old with twenty five inhabitants. It has railroad buildings, a round house shop, eating houses and a new Headquarters Hotel. Also has that terrible curse of all society, the saloon, a fine emigrant house stands west of the Mississippi River which we cross here. Land is beginning to grow better. A beet that was grown in this vicinity weighed twenty seven and one half pounds. The first frost this fall was on September twenty second and was only light.

In this town two Indians had been hung a few days ago in front of a saloon because they had been supposed to have had a part in a recent murder. They were hung by a mob, wickedly. As we crossed the river we saw a birch canoe with three or four indians coming up the river. We pity the poor Indian. Arrived at Detroit about five o'clock and staid at the Log Hotel.

Tuesday, September 24—I rose early, took breakfast and went out to the lake to fish. Spent the forenoon there and caught six large fish, four pickeral and two bass. One year ago there was in this place only two houses, now there are many with a church and school, a bank, several

[3] The Funk diaries are deposited in the Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen College Library, Goshen, Indiana.

[4] Peter Schlabach was a Mennonite who had settled across the river from La Crosse, Wisconsin, in Minnesota, years before 1872. He had lived isolated from any Mennonite people but had expressed a desire to be visited by his own church people. On his way home Funk stayed overnight at his home.

hotels and stores. The lake is about one and one sixth miles off and is a beautiful lake with an abundance of fish.

There are in the surrounding country some two hundred farmers—so says the hotel keeper. Wheat sowed the last of May produced forty eight bushels to the acre. Corn produces about twenty five bushels to the acre. One field yielded forty five bushels to the acre. But this was done with extra care and attention. Oats produces from sixty to eighty bushels to the acre. Potatoes produce three hundred bushels to the acre and grow to a very large size. Potatoes are worth forty cents a bushel, wood, two dollars fifty cents a cord. There is an endless supply of wood around this place.

Wednesday, September 25—In the evening went on the railroad to Glyndon, a town about five months old. Here is fine prairie country with a good depth of black top soil with clay subsoil, and a fine reception house built by the railroad company. Here immigrants can stay rent free until they can build a house. Here is the Red River Colony, where any person by paying twenty dollars can become a member of the colony. Here is the crossing of the St. Vincent Branch of the St. Paul and Northern Pacific Railroad. This is a good grass country and a fine surrounding country. Some people are living in tents. One family spent the last winter here in a tent. This morning is cold with a severe wind and some snow making it very unpleasant. There are six hotels, two of them are kept in canvas tents or a frame work covered with canvas. There are also two saloons, both under canvas. Some of the residents also live in tents. The two best hotels have neat, painted fronts but inside and back are only made of boards with scarcely any finish, outside is unplaned, inside is of planed boards. Rooms are very roughly made and the key has a paper tag as a label. Accommodations are pretty fair for this country. At Detroit we drank coffee and tea without milk because there was none and potatoes solid as lead.

At half past seven we took a train and came to Moorhead, arriving after eight. We stopped at the hotel; rained all day, cold and some snow. I wrote a letter home.

Thursday, September 26—Moorhead is about one year old and has some one thousand inhabitants. Many of the houses are made after the most primitive order. A good many are only covered with canvas. One year ago a potatoe field stood where the principle portion of the town now is.

Fargo is a small place where most of the buildings are covered with canvas. Here we leave Dr. Kerr, Major Hibbard and M. C. Dawson of the London Times and take a freight train. We follow the Northern Pacific Railroad through Dakota. Seven miles from Fargo we crossed the Cheyenne. Thus far the country is a beautiful prairie, as level as a country could be wished for. Afterwards the prairie becomes a little more rolling but continues good until we come within five miles of the second crossing of the Cheyenne where it becomes rough and poor. Between the Cheyenne and the James the grass becomes better, the country becomes more rolling, though and is interspersed with Salt Lakes (alkali-salt) and the country itself is more or less impregnated with this matter.

East of the Red the country is of a gravel subsoil, west of it, a clay subsoil. The black loam runs from six inches to two and a half feet in depth. The prairies are of a vast extent running perhaps a hundred or more miles in both north and south direction. Water of good quality is found anywhere by digging from ten to twenty feet. Wood is not found except along the streams.

At Cheyenne there is also a little town, mostly of tents, a sort of floating population.

Jamestown is situated at the junction of the James and Pipestone Rivers. Settlement here commenced on June of the present year and now contains some forty or more tents among which there are three hotels, two bakeries and restaurants, a dairy, several stores, etc. The place contains some one hundred fifty inhabitants besides a military post called Fort Cross under the command of Colonel Bates with two companies of regulars. It is used for the suppression of the Indians.

We left Fargo on Thursday morning, Sept. 26, on a caboose attached to a freight train loaded with wooden ties and iron rails for the road. No regular passenger trains are yet running. Standing on the back end of the car with the train not running over ten miles an hour we had a good chance to see the country described above. We arrived at Jamestown in the evening about eight o'clock. We found a large circular shaped tent provided with a wash stove, a barrel with water, a very dirty slop pail, a table, a large steamboat stove and the usual other paraphanalia of a frontier boarding house. Near the center of the tent was a canvas partition dividing off about one third of the space which was arranged with bunks similar to those on vessels. This was the sleeping apartment. Supper consisted of good brown coffee with sugar and cream, good warm biscuits, beef steak, very rare, bread, butter, sauce and cake.

Friday, September 27—This was the best and most prominent hotel in town. We slept well in our bunks till morning. For breakfast we had fish meat, biscuit, and coffee. After breakfast we met Mr. Wiseman and another gentleman, the overseer of the construction tracklaying on the road and after some inquiry we found a conveyance to see the surrounding country. We went with Mr. Wiseman to Fort Cross and were introduced to Colonel Bates, Commander of the Post, who kindly offered to give us an army ambulance to take us over the country in charge of Captain B. (The ambulance was pulled by four mules.) We took our seats accompanied by Mr. Wiseman and rode around the place. We went down the valley of the James, across the table lands above and then down through the coolies to the pipe stone and up the valley to the James and down the James to the fort. This made a trip of several hours.

The valley of the James and the Pipestone are a beautiful consert of good rich land, well adapted for cultivation or pasture. We stopped at several garden patches which were planted chiefly in potatoes. The first was broken late and the potatoes planted without any cultivation. They hung full but small. The second plot had been unfenced for a part of the time and exposed to the ravages of the cattle. They were planted on about the twentieth of June and yielded fair. It was the first year's cultivation.

The cattle, of which we saw a good many were nearly all in excellent shape. The prairies all around are covered with buffalo grass which is said to be excellent for cattle. They will thrive and grow fat on it in a very short time. We also saw swine feeding on the kitchen slops, which were very fine. The Indian ponies live all winter on the prairies. They [Indians] had a considerable number of tepees—tents—in the neighborhood but having received orders to leave the place and go to their reservations they had just pulled up and were about packing for the removal while others were already on the way. They move with their ponies, of which they have large numbers, by tying their tent poles on each side of their ponies and packing the balance of their goods on his back and leading them along. A good many are also in the service, making good

men for almost any duty. They are much more able to endure hardship than white men.

Those which we saw are of the Sioux tribe and are inclined to be friendly. We never saw finer and better cattle than here.

The soil in this vicinity is fertile and adapted to any purpose whatever. Water is fair and pretty good at reasonable depths.

The valley of the James is not wide here but spreads to forty miles in width below Jamestown. There are plenty of buildings in the valley of the James. There is no water power here, but there is talk of making the wind available for power—which in our estimation may also be done.

We visited several Indian mounds, one of which was dug through by a Professor of Washington. Indian bones were found with arrows, a box of which was sent to Washington for examination. The Indians have no tradition to give any explanation of the matter.

In the afternoon at 5:40 we took a freight train and during the night came back to Moorhead.

Saturday, September 28—About nine o'clock we started for Red Lake and Wild Rice on a freight train. The country north of Glyndon on the Pembina branch of the St. Paul and Pacific railroad is a good level country. Some ninety thousand acres have been sold here to an English colony who are going to come over next spring, (1873). The soil appears to be more rich and not so dry as that on the great plain of Dakota, while the grass is much heavier and more luxuriant. On the Wild Rice is a belt of fair timber. We also met a few ponds and swamps of small extent. The Red Lake-River is a stream of considerable size and is well timbered. Its source is Red Lake and it flows into Red River, from whence also an abundance of timber can be obtained. The timber can be rafted up from the Red to the immediate vicinity of those settling on the prairie. North of the Red Lake River is a wide open plain extending several hundred miles to the northward. By the middle of November it is expected that the railroad will extend to Pembina. In the line of the English possessions we went up fourteen miles beyond the Red Lake River and found the same black muddy soil, though very strong winds are said to prevail during a great deal of the winter.

There is a small town, though some of the houses are only tents, at the Red Lake River Crossing.

The only question in my mind in regard to the country is the water, though water can be procured by digging, the quality is not so good. About the productiveness of the soil there is no question, though it is no fruit country, except for grapes and the hardier kinds of apples.

We came home on a freight train of empty cars about seven thirty o'clock, took tea, talked awhile with Dr. Kerr and went to bed.

Sunday, September 29—A heavy frost this morning, the second one we have seen on our journey. Sun warm and pleasant again at nine o'clock. Saw a wagon load of folks—they were Catholics and the three sisters were dressed very plain. They stopped at the hotel and then went on. It was pleasant to see the plain bonnets they had on. Got ready for church, went to Sunday School at ten o'clock, attendance small, new chapel with boards for seats, an organ, no stove, desk for the minister. Sermon to the children by Rev. Mr. Williams. Analysed David or faithfulness rewarded. Sermon by Dr. Kerr of Glasgow, Scotland from Luke 13:30. Let both grow together till harvest. The two kingdoms, the tares and the wheat, discourse good. After dinner spent in reading and writing letters.

Evening heard Dr. Kerr preach from Matt. 16:21-26. Pretty good attendance. Retired at 10:30.

Monday, September 30—A heavy frost this morning but warm and pleasant during the day. Mr. Hazard unwell so we, with a good deal of disappointments, changed our course and instead of going in a carriage to Breckenridge we took the cars.

Came east to Thomson where we bade farewell to Dr. Kerr and stopped to supper. At 9:53 we took the cars to St. Paul where we arrived at seven.

Tuesday, October 1—Took breakfast at 9:15, leaving my friends Hazard and Warkentin I took the cars for Minnesota where we arrived at three o'clock. At four we came to La Cross Junction. There took stage to La Cross, arrived at five. Took ferry just as the boat was moving off. Arrived at La Crescent, a miserable place and went with a German family named Happel three miles. Then went alone through the dark over hill and vale to Brother Schlabach's house, five miles from La Crescent, on foot. Found him finally, very tired, talked a while and went to bed.

Wednesday, October 2—Clear and pleasant in the morning. Talked and read until noon. Bro. Schlabach then took me to La Crescent where I again took a boat for La Cross and where I am now (2:17), writing these lines on the bosom of the Mississippi. Arrived at Winona Junction at 5 o'clock.

In the summer of 1873 Funk accompanied a deputation of twelve Mennonites from Russia and Prussia[5] which spied out the area in the West preparatory to settlement. Various groups of the deputation covered different areas. The route of Funk's trip included visits to Manitoba, the territory of Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri. On May 23, two weeks before the deputation trip, Funk had attended a conference of ministers in Summerfield, Illinois, and in the following week had visited churches in northern Illinois. Arriving home from the Illinois trip on June 2, he left for the West on the next day.

Tuesday, June 3—Warm and pleasant. I left home this morning on the 4 A.M. train and came to Chicago in company with the four Russians and Brother Leatherman. We arrived at 8:00 A.M. and went to Barnes' house. Then we tried to find out something of the route and land of the West. We called on Mr. Turner in the Advance office—who offered to send a carriage for us at 2 o'clock. . . .

I telegraphed home about the Russians yet expected to come and saw Wagner and family.

Wednesday, June 4—Cool and rained some in the morning. We left for St. Paul, Minnesota at 10 o'clock, and rode all day on the North West Wisconsin Division of the North Western Railroad. Vegetation is fine. Land is good in some places along this route, but in others is very poor.

[5] See "Diary of Paul Tschetter," translated and edited by J. M. Hofer, in REVIEW, April and July, 1931. Tschetter was a member of the "Deputation of Twelve." See also Leonhard Sudermann, *Eine Deputationsreise von Russland nach Amerika*, Elkhart, 1897, and *The Tobias A. Unruh Biography, Diary and Family Record 1819-1950*, Ottumwa, Iowa, 1950.

Thursday, June 5—We rode all night. Clear and pleasant. Came to St. Paul at 7 o'clock. We went to the *Wilden Jayer* on Jackson Street. Expense $1.00 a day.

We called on Mr. Powers of the Northern Pacific Railroad and also the chief Agent of the Land Department. Mr. Powers kindly volunteered to accompany us.

Called on the Secretary of State and were very kindly received by the gentleman who gave us every information we desired. Mr. Van Dite and his assistant Mr. Hunter felt much interested in the cause of our people. We also met Mr. Daicoll and Williams of the Daily News. Afterwards a reporter of the St. Paul Gazette called on us and made many inquiries in regard to our people, etc. (*sic*). Took dinner and waited for Mr. Seeger, their former Secretary of State, Commissioner of Emigration for this state with whom we had a long conference in regard to various lands, laws, etc. In the evening the (one) brethren Wiebe of the first Deputation arrived here and a telegraph informed us that the three last in care of Mister Hiller were also on the way and that we should wait for them.

Friday, June 6—Clear and pleasant, rose at five o'clock, and took a carriage to see Mr. Power and had tickets arranged. Took the train at 8:10 for Duluth and arrived there at 4:40. Wild cherries and strawberries are in bloom. Forests are green, land poor. We saw good wheat and rye near St. Paul. The River is high, the scenery beautiful. Stopped at Bayview for an hour, called on Mr. Tenny and visited the reception house. It is cold and the Lake is filled with ice. The wind has been from the Northeast for 75 days, filling the harbor with ice.

Saturday, June 7—We took the train at 7 o'clock this morning to go West. On the train we met Mr. Power. Had a pleasant ride through the Big forest to Brainard. Strawberries and wild cherries are in bloom. We met Professor Phelps of the State Normal School of Minnesota at Winona. Had a pleasant conversation with him in relation to our faith and our people and upon educational matters. Also met three Hollanders from the birth place of Menno Simons in pursuit of land. Dr. Rogers of the much talked of Yoevil Colony was on the train but I didn't make his acquaintance. We arrived at Glyndon at about seven o'clock and there met Mr. Call, who conducted us to the Colonists Reception room where we were to stay over Sunday at the rate of $0.25 a meal.

Sunday, June 8—Rained last night and this morning. I felt somewhat unwell. Nearly our whole party was similarly affected, probably from the water.

We spent some time in reading and talking and at 11 o'clock went to the Congregational church under the charge of Pastor Williams. His text was Luke 11:1, "And they all began to make excuses, etc." His discourse was very learned. Upon a pressing invitation from him I consented to occupy his pulpit in the evening, upon which occasion I gave an account of the Mennonite Church origin and of the Russian Mennonites. I spent the afternoon in reading and studying. In the evening a very good attendance was present. Returned again to the emigrant house for the night. The evening was fair and pleasant.

Monday, June 9—Clear and cool. I wrote home and to Mr. Trott of St. Paul. Met Mr. Powers again this morning. We got a couple of teams and rode out to see Mr. Farmer's farm. Things look good. Corn, tomatoes, turnips, potatoes, barley and wheat all seem to grow well. In the afternoon we rode out South across the South Branch of the Buffalo—

and saw some very fine country; also saw several parties breaking sod. Returned in the afternoon. We took tea at the reception house and started for the train which was two hours behind time. When it finally came we went on board and met the party with Mr. Hiller, which consisted of Bro. Leonhard Suderman of Berdianisk, Russia; Bro. Jacob Buller, Alexanderwohl, Russia; Bro. Tobias Unruh, Carlswalde, Russia; Bro. Andrew Schrag, Kottasufke, Russia; Bro. Wm. Ewert, Obernassau, Russia; Henry Wiebe, Bergthal, Russia; Bro. Cornelius Bour (*sic*), Bergthal, Russia; Bro. Jacob Peters, Bergtal, Russia; Bro. J. Y. Shantz, Canada; M. S. Hiller of Jay Cook and Co., Philadelphia; Isaac Leatherman, Elkhart, Indiana; Bro. Paul Shetter (*sic*), Hutterthal, Russia; Bro. Lorenz Shetter (*sic*), Hutterthal, Russia; David Klaasen, Hutterthal, Russia; and Cornelius Toews, Hutterthal, Russia.

The above composed our party, accompanied by Mr. C. B. Power of the N.P.R.R. Co. It afforded us much pleasure to meet so many brethren from so far. We went to Fargo, where we stopped all night at Head Quarters Hotel. I wrote two letters and retired about midnight.

Tuesday, June 10—Pleasant weather. We took the train this morning at six o'clock and passed over the line of the Northern Pacific R.R. to the James River, a distance of 100 miles west to the Red River. Took dinner and looked around a little and then returned. The country looks very beautiful. The best country apparently is between the Red River and the second crossing of the Cheyenne River. We came back at one o'clock in the night to Fargo. The land makes a very favorable impression on the mind of our people. We also had some very interesting conversations with the brethren.

Wednesday, June 11—Weather—fair and pleasant. We took two teams and went to explore the country. We drove down on the west side of the Red River some 10 miles. Country is good. Then we cut across to the South West and reaching the banks of the Cheyenne River we unhitched our horses, watered them from the River, tied them to our wagon, fed them with oats we brought along, and sat down on a stack or heap of hay to eat the lunch of cheese and bread and meat and cakes which our kind landlord had packed in a basket for us. Here are a number of settlers—squatters. We stopped with one of the families. The young wife offered us sweet milk. It was rich and good. We spent much time here and saw some corn 1½ inches high which had been only 5 days in the ground. The land is good, the weather cold. The river here is about five feet deep. Ice freezes in winter as deep as the river. On returning we went over good land, got swamped in a slough and to get out unhitched the horses and pulled the wagon by hand. We came home about six o'clock and went to see a garden kept by a man near this place where we saw all kinds of vegetables growing finely. (*sic*). We returned late.

Thursday, June 12—Lowering and cloudy. Held a counsel and the whole party of 12 Russians and Germans, including Mr. Hiller, Mr. Hespeler, Bro Shantz, myself and another young man, 16 in number. Our boat is to start on Friday afternoon. Concluded to go to Manitoba. Spent the day in writing and talking.

Friday, June 13—Took the boat at 10 o'clock and started at 2 o'clock down the Red River on the Steam boat, International. The boat is very nearly full and is heavily laden. It got about ten miles till evening. Weather warm and pleasant.

Saturday, June 14—Warm and clear. By four this morning, we had come about 15 miles. Progress is very slow.

Sunday, June 15—Spent the forenoon in reading and meditation. After dinner we had religious services. Attendance was good. I was not a little surprised to hear that all knelt during prayer. I spoke in English from the text, I Timothy 1:15. Brother Ewert and Suderman spoke in German. Progress both days was slow, but the time passed slowly away with nothing to interest us but the monotonous wood on the shore and water in the river.

Monday, June 16—Clear and pleasant. We kept making slow progress and in the evening retired late. Saw an old Indian woman, 102 years old.

Tuesday, June 17—We arrived at Fort Garry[6] at four o'clock, A.M. and were received by the government officials. Were put in keeping at the Davis House in Winnepeg. Accommodations are only ordinary. We were invited to the office of the Attorney General where cakes and wine was prepared and considerable information in regard to land and government and the like ascertained. Went to dinner and in the afternoon rode out in three wagons and saw the land, which is good, and well adapted to wheat, barley, and oats, peas and vegetables.

Wednesday, June 18—Clear and fine in the forenoon, some showers in the afternoon. Started with five wagons and twenty four men including teamsters, etc. Two wagons with tents and provisions had preceded the main group by some two hours. We passed through a miserable wet swampy country. Our horses got swamped a number of times. At noon we stopped and watered them, and ate cheese and crackers and then proceeded. The horses ate only a little grass and in consequence were very weak and worn out so that our progress was slow. One horse gave out and of the others several swamped and we had to wade and walk through mud and water. Several times we pushed the wagon out of the mud. We arrived at Oak Point[7] at 8 o'clock. There is a government house where we gained admission and took supper on boiled eggs, bread and cheese at 11 o'clock, and then laid down to sleep on the floor.

Thursday, June 19—Clear—high wind—not cold. I slept late, rose refreshed and rested. Got breakfast of boiled eggs, bread, tea, butter and salt. Our commissary department has not yet arrived. After breakfast we had worship and are now (9 o'clock) waiting for our provision wagons to arrive.

Days are very long. Light continues from 7 to 9:30. We started from Oak Point at 3 o'clock, came some eight or ten miles and camped for the night near a pool of water on the land reserved by the government for the Mennonites. The night was pleasant. Sang several hymns and retired. I felt unwell. Land is mostly low and wet.

Friday, June 20—Very cool this morning but became extremely warm in the afternoon. We traveled along and found some good dry prairie, also some fair woodland. We took dinner near another low place where there was a pond near a good spring. Pretty flowers of several kinds were also found. In the afternoon we got to a slough which was hard to pass. I am now writing while the teams are resting. We built a bridge of grass and drew the wagons over. Encamped a few miles from this place for the night. Mosquitoes are very bad.

[6]Fort Garry was the name of the fort near which Winnipeg was founded.

[7]Oak Point was a then familiar overnight spot on Dawson Road which connected Winnipeg with Lake Superior. The Hudson Bay Company had a store here at the time.

Saturday, June 21—Rained this morning but cleared off at about nine o'clock. We started at 7 o'clock and came over a good road and camped for dinner at 10 o'clock. We came into Winnepeg about five o'clock. Here we saw J. W. Taylor, U.S. Consul. He gave us some important information respecting the country, government, etc. We took supper and made preparations to take the boat at 10 o'clock for Pembina.

Sunday, June 22—Weather variable with strong wind. I met Reverend Dr. Selew of the Episcopal Church. He held services in the forenoon and I spoke upon the Russian emigration in the evening. The boat gives us good accomodations and we are having a pleasant trip.

Monday, June 23—Cloudy, rained hard last night. We came to Pembina this morning and called on Mister A. Campbell,[8] Commissioner of Land Surveys, who, with Colonel Wheaton furnished us with a government ambulance and four mules and a teamster. Then we hired a one horse and buggy and set out to see the country west. We found it level and dry, of good soil and good grass and good timber along the Pembina River. We found some ripe strawberries in the woods, also some cherry trees, wild cherries, June berries, etc. (*sic*). We crossed the line between Manitoba and the United States three times today and found some few settlers along the river. Came to a Mr. Botteneau's eighteen miles from town and got permission to stay all night. I learned from Colonel Wheaton that the country is so very cold that vegetables can hardly be preserved in cellars. They have one (cellar) where they keep a stove all winter to keep from freezing in it. Saw some very fine potatoes, peas, beets, raddishes, etc. (*sic*)—everything seems to grow finely (*sic*). Rained this morning but cleared off about 9 o'clock. In the evening we came to Charles Botteneau where we remained all night and had good accommodations. Mr. Botteneau has some three hundred twenty acres of land, a good house well furnished, etc. He keeps a large amount of stock and has plenty of timber. We were met there by Mr. Morehead and ———————— from Pembina who accompanied us further.

Tuesday, June 24—Weather is fine. We started at 7 o'clock for St. Joseph and in a few hours reached George Emmerling's who owns some eight hundred acres of land in the valley of the Pembina. Here is a soil mixed with some sand. Stone, timber, buildings are found. Berries, plums, cherries, raspberries, blackberries, grow wild in the woods. Fish and moose are still found. Country is good.

We took dinner at Emmerling's, excellent fare. This family is German Catholic, generous, intelligent and kind. We took a trip out in the afternoon, returned and stayed all night. There we also met Major Turning of the U.S.A. and Captain Haubaugh, U.S.A. Rained a shower in the afternoon.

Wednesday, June 25—Rained last night. Our kind host charged us nothing for the accommodations. We took leave and started for Pembina, stopped again at Botteneaus's for dinner. They had just killed a small pig and prepared about half of it for us. Our men ate heartily. After dinner we returned to Pembina and settled our accounts. We took lodging at the hotel, a poor place with lots of mosquitoes.

Thursday, June 26—The boat came about 3 o'clock this morning. We went on board and started for Fargo, made good progress, slept some and wrote. Weather was pleasant.

[8] M. A. Campbell had charge of the boundary surveys which were being made by the United States and Canada in 1872.

Friday, June 27—Clear and fine. We had much trouble with the mosquitoes and could not sleep well. Wrote a letter home this morning. We left the boat at Grand Forks, Dakota and will go by stage to Moorhead. We were received very kindly by the people. I think this place well adapted for a settlement, good soil, corn and oats planted three weeks is 3 ft. high and grass and cattle look fine. The country lying between the Goose and Turtle is very fine and well adapted for both soil and markets. Was invited to take tea with E. B. Andreas, who charged us nothing and is a very pleasant man. Came down to the stage office where we propose to start at four o'clock in the morning.

Saturday, June 28—Clear in the morning, cloudy after 9 o'clock. We started at 5:30 o'clock after taking a hearty breakfast. Our stage is a two horse lumber wagon and carries the mail and express. We ran twenty two miles through a very good country, where there is an excellent growth of grass. Thousands of cattle could be pastered (sic), and thousands of tons of hay could be made. Wild roses grow here in abundance and smell very sweet, also a beautiful leopard lily. The country to Frog Point is good and well drained with five little streams of water flowing into the Red and some six coolies. After leaving Frog Point it is lower and level and not so well drained until we get to Goose River. Some six or seven miles south of Goose River it continues still a little low, but may all be brought under cultivation by ditching, except some lower portions. Somewhere in the neighborhood of Goose River the Railroad lands commence and from the above-mentioned point six or seven miles south of the Goose River the land is very good until we reach Georgetown, where we cross the Red River and run through Minnesota to Moorhead. We started at five thirty o'clock at Grand Forks and ran twenty two miles to Frog Point with a two horse lumber wagon. Land was good, high and dry. Then came a relay of horses and we had another lumber wagon and four horses for twelve miles from Frog Point to Goose River. Then we changed horses and ran 14 miles to Elm River. This water is said to be salty. Six miles on each side of the Goose is low country. Then it is better again and dryer. Then we ran again from Elm River to Georgetown, 14 miles in two hours. We left Georgetown at 6:30 and ran to Moorhead in two and one half hours, a distance of fifteen to eighteen miles. Ran this day about eighty miles in fifteen and one half hours, including dinner and changes of horses. Came to Chapin House in Faye at nine thirty o'clock, very tired. Street preaching in Moorehead in the evening. I received a number of letters and went to bed feeling that God had kindly and in mercy led us in all our ways.

Sunday, June 29—Clean and cool. Read letters and wrote our decision in regard to the Bally affair in Woodford County, Illinois. Attended a meeting at Sherman House by members of the Y.M.C.A. of Chicago. I reproved a man for swearing at the breakfast table and offended him. Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves. Wrote in the afternoon and evenings.

Monday, June 30—Cool and pleasant. We started out on the train to a point twenty-one miles west of Fargo, beyond the Maple River. Here we found some good country. In the Rush River there is fine soil, a little mixed with sand, very rich and mellow, and well drained. Also found a little timber, a few stones, gravel and water, pretty good grass and plenty of meadow land for pasture. We came to some very fine grass; found a fine gravel ridge high and dry but narrow. We came in about dark and after evening worship laid down on own tents to sleep.

Tuesday, July 1—On the gravel ridge above referred to, Brother Ewert found the head of a buffalo and set it with an inscription and his name.

Tuesday it was cool and pleasant. We started out at seven thirty o'clock. We had prepared two large tents, sixteen by sixteen, one for a cooking tent and the other for sleeping and resting, a good cook, excellent fare. We used three teams and wagons, one a baggage wagon, and two light wagons. We rode out north to the Rush River and then west to the ridge. There we took dinner and fed the horses. Then we went southward to three miles south of the R.R. track, then North West toward camp; we got near camp where we had to cross a small river where the whippletree broke and we were compelled to draw out our wagon by hand. I felt tired and after evening worship we retired. Today we saw some very wet land, but also some good. We found no swamp where we could not drive through.

Wednesday, July 2—It rained a little this morning. A new whippletree was brought from Fargo and we hitched up and started out again northeast seven miles to Rush River. Saw good, dry land and fine meadow. Then we went South to the Maple and across the Railroad track and then round to camp. In the evening it rained. This town (140) is throughout a very good town. We came in early and took tea on excellent fare.

Thursday, July 3—Clear and pleasant this morning. We started out towards the South and left orders for our men to move camp. We passed through a very fine country. At about noon we came to a stream with very steep banks. We crossed over and took our lunch. After dinner we started out towards the Maple River. We started a flock of wild geese, caught the mother and five goslings and took them with us. The young ones are about half grown. We found very pretty country on the Maple, high and well drained. The Maple is a very pretty stream, clear, gravel bottom, fish in it and some timber on the banks. Good land is on both sides. We returned to where we took dinner and found our tents all in order. Rained hard in the evening. I took a bath in the Maple.

Friday, July 4—Clear and a strong wind all day. We wore our overcoats. Went over some more very good country on both sides of the railroad in the neighborhood of the gravel pit where we took dinner. Came to the second siding where we took the train and came to Fargo in the evening. Met Rev. Mr. Kendall of La Porte on the train, also Dr. Capp, Dr. Allen, Mr. Terry and other notable characters. Came into Fargo at about eight o'clock. Some firing of cannon and a dance finished up the celebrating of the 4th. Retired early.

Saturday, July 5—Fair and pleasant—wrote and rested. In the afternoon went to Moorehead. In the evening visited Mr. Hoi's garden. Found corn that twenty four days ago was ten inches high and was now some four feet and a half. Peas which were then up were ripe. Peas which were planted on the seventeenth of May were ripe on the fifth of July, a growing period of forty nine days.

Sunday, July 6—Very pleasant and fine. Brother Suderman and Buller and Shantz came on the boat last night from Manitoba well and happy. Attended services at Chapin house, Fargo, led by a Presbyterian clergyman. In the afternoon I wrote and talked and walked.

Monday, July 7—Clear, warm and pleasant. Started out on the train at six o'clock. Were met by the teams at the station and drove southward toward camp Ewert. We found a strong sulphur spring. The water is nice and clear but tastes very strong of sulphur. We saw a couple of

foxes. Went on and saw a very fine, good country all the way on this day's trip, especially along the Maple. Took dinner in a little grove on its banks where we found vast numbers of tame cherry trees, also gooseberries, currants, and grape vines, in abundance. Returned to camp about five o'clock.

Tuesday, July 8—Clear and cool but cloudy driving the latter part of the day with a little rain in the evening. We started north for the Rush River and passed camp Hiller where we watered. Found strawberries ripe in large quantities and gathered almost a pailful. Took dinner in the open prairie without water. Came to side track about four o'clock and loaded horses, wagons, etc. on cars and came into Fargo about eight o'clock. Received a dispatch from H. Trott of St. Paul. Telegraphed to him and made arrangements to go by stage to Breckenridge at ten tomorrow. After evening prayer retired thankful to God for His mercy and care.

Wednesday, July 9—Clear and pleasant. Made a settlement of our affairs at the Hotel. Mr. Powers took the train for St. Paul, and after writing a letter to Bro. Toews and Klassen (*sic*) we took the coach at ten thirty o'clock for Breckenridge. We found a good country from Moorehead to Ft. Abercrombia with good soil and good grass. At Ft. Abercrombia we took supper then crossed over the river onto the Dakota side and then up the river. The country was good. At Breckenridge we crossed the Bois des Sioux into Breckenridge, the termination of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad. We arrived here at about 8 o'clock and were kindly received by Mr. Seeger[9] and Herman Trott, Land Commissioner of the railroad. Remained here all night and had a pleasant interview with Messers. Trott and Seeger on the car.

Thursday, July 10—Took breakfast at Breckenridge and at seven o'clock the train started for St. Paul. Mr. Trott had brought Mr. Seeger and himself in his business car, especially for us with very fine accommodations and we rode as far as Douglas where we stopped over to see the country. Breckenridge is a pleasant little place of considerable business. Flat boats are built here and loaded with goods and floated down the Red River to Ft. Garry and there the goods are taken out and after the goods are sold, they sell the flat boat also, for building lumber. There is stage connections here with the Northern Pacific and all points on the Red River to Winnepeg in Manitoba, and also the railroad to St. Paul. We passed through Herman, where there is considerable of a German Settlement and a neat little town started. We were treated to a lunch at Douglas and provided with teams and rode out some ten miles into the country. The soil is good, a little light, mixed with some sand but yet productive. There are plenty of granite and lime stone, meadows with good grass, and many pretty lakes with good fish. The surface of the land is gently undulating. We came to a fine Lake three miles long and two miles wide which we named Menno Lake. Saw good rye, and wheat, also trees planted from seed. Returned to the station about 3 o'clock, rested and took another ride to the north. The land is very pretty here and the many lakes furnish abundant water. After prayer, retired.

Friday, July 11 — The sun rose clear and bright, but became cloudy soon after. Took an excellent breakfast provided by our kind host—which would have done credit to a hotel. We slept excellently in the car and in

[9] William Seeger was a German who had been a long time resident of Moscow, Russia, but who was at this time the Minnesota State Treasurer.

all things needed nothing. At ten o'clock the train came and we started for St. Paul—just as I am writing these lines.

Morris, a considerable town and settlement. Fifty thousand bushels of wheat passed here since the first of January. Price is from five to six dollars an acre.

West of Kerkhoven is a good country owned mostly by speculators, not settlers. At Nelmar we took dinner. This town is three years old, is on a lake, has two hotels, stores and three or four churches. Very pretty rolling country. Has about 100 houses and five hundred inhabitants.

Litchfield, three years ago, was a wheat field, now has about one thousand inhabitants, hotels.

Darwin, near the woods, is a small town. The woods contain maple, oak, cottonwood, aspen, walnut, butternut, ironwood, tamarack, etc.

Saw a house on a nice farm on an elevation in the timber made by seven girls, daughters of a German who had seven children, all girls and no boys. He took a homestead and the girls chopped down the trees and cleared the land and have now a considerable land under cultivation, with fields of fine growing wheat, barley, oats, etc. Several of these girls are now married and their husbands cultivate farms. We came on to Smith Lake, a pretty body of water, where are very good growing crops, a stream saw mill, much corn, whole places of sugar maple, very large and fine emigrant reception houses, and grain houses. We were shown a seed from a stalk of grass, taken from the low grounds in the valley of the Pomme des Terre, five miles east of Morris, where the St. Paul and Pacific railroad crosses the river which was twenty-three feet, four inches wide. This was taken on the eleventh of July. We arrived at Minneapolis at about seven o'clock and stopped at the Commercial.

Saturday, July 12—Rose at five, went down to the mills and the falls. Returned for breakfast at seven, then went to see a saw mill, a grist mill, a woolen mill, etc. We were met by Messers R. Chute and L. I. Cook, who kindy furnished us with carriages and took us around. After dinner we took the train and came to St. Paul. We met Mr. Seeger again. Called on Mr. Drake, the superintendent of the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad and were kindly furnished with transportation over the road. Then we called on Mr. Trott our former patron and then on the governor with whom we had a kind interview. Then we returned to the hotel. Called on Gerhard Roosen and then returned to our hotel. The Governor hoped we would find a place to suit us for settlement and warned us to look well to timber as a protection against cold and high winds.

Sunday, July 13—Very warm. I called on Mr. Power. Went to a Lutheran Church where they had infant baptism. After dinner we called on Mr. Seeger and afterwards on Schaft where I met Dr. Philips, formerly of Chester County, Pennsylvania. In the evening we went down to the depot where we took leave of Mr. Power, who started again for Fargo. Went back to the hotel and took supper late, and after worship went to bed.

Monday, July 14—Clear and pleasant last night, a heavy thunder storm at Chicago, warm, very warm today. We started on the Sioux City and St. Paul road under the guidance of Mr. Seeger and General Bishop, manager of the road. They provided an extra car and treated us very kindly. We passed through a very good country, saw good products, especially corn, wheat, oats and barley. Country some distance out seems to be level or gently undulating of good soil and interspersed with beautiful lakes. We

took dinner at St. James. Country is very fine here and at Windon and Mountain Lake. Came to Worthington. Country is very fine. We rode out in the evening. Here the track was laid a year ago last November. This town is only fifteen months old and has now about five hundred inhabitants with about fifteen hundred families living in the country. The town has four hotels, a number of stores, a large grist mill, three lumber yards and others. Mr. Hiller came with us to Mankato where he took final leave. Stayed at Worthington all night.

Tuesday, July 15—Rained heavily with some hail this morning. Took breakfast and went back to Heron Lake, where four teams were provided and we went north some eight miles to Lake Talcot where we took dinner in a pleasant grove where lived an old man with several children and his son-in-law. He said he had eighty acres as a homestead and eighty as a pre-emption claim, but not being able to pay the amount in time had just a few days previously resigned the right to his pre-emption claims. His wife had received a fall by the horses running away and hurt her leg very badly. He seemed well pleased with his home and stated that he was a Reformed Lutheran clergyman. We returned again about three o'clock, expecting to meet our brethren whom we left in Manitoba several weeks ago, when the train arrived from St. Paul, as we had received a telegram inquiring of our whereabouts in the morning, but they did not come. Came back again to Worthington for the night.

We found an apparently rich soil through this portion of the country, good grass and some pretty good corn, wheat and oats. The barley was not so good owing to the fact that the grasshoppers had eaten it off, it was said. Another reason may be poor cultivation. We also found evidences of alkali in the soil.

Wednesday, July 16—Clear and fine. Started out again at six thirty o'clock to Heron Lake where the teams awaited us and we went another round to Hudson, some twelve or fifteen miles and found a very pretty country. The country all through here is rolling and lay very nice with here and there a pretty lake. We saw some pretty good grain, but generally only middling. The poor here build sod houses. Windom is two years old this month and is a town of perhaps five hundred inhabitants, with hotels, stores, printing office and a chamber of commerce. Took dinner and are waiting for the train to go to Sioux City. We started at three o'clock. One mile beyond Biglow we crossed the state line into Lowe. Land is the same and is to be had on the same terms as in Minnesota. At Gilman the Company offers half the town site, same as at Wilden. Took supper, at La Mars. Came to Sioux City about nine o'clock. Stopped at Hubbard House where are very good accommodations and pleasant people.

Thursday, July 17—Rained heavy last night, clear and pleasant this morning. Started at seven forty for Omaha, in charge of Mr. Hanson. The country seems to grow better as we go south. Saw very fine wheat and corn, grass and cattle. Came to Council Bluffs about twelve o'clock. There Mr. Manchester came to us and told me he had both papers and letters, but he did not have them with him. I felt somewhat anxious all day to get them. I had some pleasant conversation with Brother Schantz while on the cars.

At Omaha the train was held an hour for us, so that we could proceed to the West immediately. Here I met Mr. Davis, land Agent, and had a pleasant trip over the Union Pacific. Took dinner at Fremont and then went on to Columbus where we stopped for the day. Here we met a Mr.

Hildebrand from Russia who came to this country with five other families from Odessa some six weeks ago and settled here. He has a store and his friends are farmers. They have bought farms. One bought eighty acres improved for $800. They seem to like it well and expect about a hundred families more. Stopped at the hotel. Met here a Mr. Noah Good and another person named Abraham Fredline of Somerset County, Pennsylvania. The first is a grocer, the second a barber, but both are in the grocery business. The land here is good. Crops look excellent. Grass is good, cattle fine. Good water is available and fair prices for wheat but corn is cheap, twenty five cents (bushel), butter 15 cents (pound).

Friday, July 18—Cloudy and cold this morning. We started out to see the country accompanied by O. F. Davis and Hansen, saw a very fine country, nicely rolling, good soil which is well watered by little streams and produces good crops. We rode about thirty miles and returned to Columbus about two o'clock. Land from the railroad company is worth about $5.00 an acre on ten years' time. Special rates will be given on freights and transportation from New York. Lumber is worth from thirty to fifty dollars a hundred. Wells cost sixty five cents a foot. On Wood River is some very fine level country with some timber. The soldier's colony is about three years old and has two thousand population. Towns spring up with incredible rapidity. Stone and lumber are scarce, climate healthy and pleasant.

We started away from the town of Columbus at 4:15 and came to Kearney Junction where we met Mr. Manchester and stayed all night. Got letters and papers from home and read under the greatest excitement for some time and feel thankful that God has so kindly kept us all, though many deaths have occurred and a number of severe accidents.

Saturday, July 19—Clear and warm and pleasant. Mr. Hansen and Mister Seeger left us this morning at five o'clock on the train to Omaha. We started out at six o'clock for Lowell on an extra train with Mr. Manchester. At Lowell we took breakfast. We took wagons and tents and started for Red Cloud on the Republican River. We drove about fifty six miles over a country lying nicely rolling, but the first ten or twelve were very sandy with little grass. Then the country improved some and became better as we went south, but all of it has a light soil with considerable sand, light grass, a good deal of buffalo grass but produces good corn, potatoes, wheat and oats. The country is very dry with few streams, and wells are bored from thirty to one hundred feet deep at a cost of $.60 a foot with bucket windlass and all complete. We stopped with a farmer who had taken his homestead and built a sod house nicely plastered and roofed in good order. We took dinner on the headwaters of the Little Blue where there is some good timber. We arrived at Red Cloud about seven o'clock and put up at the Valley House. Here there is a soft stone that can be cut and planed. When first greased and afterwards exposed to the air it becomes harder. With the stone is found a little chalk which is used without burning for lime to plaster.

Sunday, July 20—Clear and pleasant, rather warm. Walked out this morning and found a beautiful gravel bottomed creek with clear water and fish. Afterwards went to Sunday School where a very unprofitable discussion took place between the teachers and others. I was invited to preach which I did from Luke 10:42. Spent the afternoon with Mr. Kadey, a (lawyer) of the place and in the evening listened to a discourse by Professor Butler. Of a party of ten, we had seven clergymen.

Monday, July 21—Warm and pleasant. We broke camp at Red Cloud and started at half past four o'clock. We rose at two and took coffee and bread and after we started we traveled until seven when we stopped with a settler and cooked some coffee and took a lunch. At the Little Blue River we fed and drank, bathed and then went on to Hastings. We arrived at two o'clock, took dinner and came to Lincoln where we stayed all night.

Tuesday, July 22—Very warm. Felt weak on account of a severe diarrhea and took little breakfast. Went out to see the town. Called on Mr. Harris, Land Commissioner, and obtained terms from him. Started on the cars (train) from Lincoln at 11:35 and arrived at Plattsmouth, then took the boat for Pacific Junction. There took the cars on the Omaha and St. Joseph Railroad, and passing down the valley of the Missouri, we arrived at St. Joseph at 9½ in the evening. The two brethren Schetter (*sic*) and Brother Unruh took the train direct for Chicago and Elkhart.

Wednesday, July 23—Left the rest of the brethren at St. Joseph. They were going on to St. Louis direct and thence to Summerfield, Illinois. Took the train on the Hannibal and St. Joseph Road for Chillicothe, (Missouri). Passed over a pleasant and fertile country with large fields of grain and timber. I arrived at Chillicothe at ten forty and went to my Brother Jacob's office where I remained during the remainder of the day. This is a place of about five thousand inhabitants with a good country around it and considerable trade.

Thursday, July 24—Stayed again with Brother Jacob all day, very warm. Talked over business matters and had a very pleasant time. Called on the editor of the Chillicothe Tribune.

Friday, July 25—Started at eleven o'clock for Chicago by way of Quincy. Was on the road all the rest of the day, very warm.

Saturday, July 26—Pleasant with a cool breeze all day; met Brothers Shantz, Schrag and Suderman in Chicago. Took breakfast with M. F. Rittenhouse, collected the rent of Mrs. Darley, took dinner at Beidlers. Met Rev. Dr. Evert, sister, son and grand child. Took the train at five fifteen P.M. and came home at nine thirty and felt happy to find myself at home again. Found all well.

TRADITION AND PROGRESS AMONG THE MENNONITES IN MANITOBA[1]

E. K. Francis

The struggle between the old and the new is perhaps the one principal theme or leitmotif which can be discovered in the history of the Mennonites as a whole. The driving power behind their migrations and repeated flights to remote parts of the world, where they hoped to find an opportunity to live a Christian life as they understood it, was always a heroic desire to preserve the sacred traditions, for which their forebears have suffered and died, against the allurements of a larger society. Yet the struggle for the preservation of the old against the new is not confined to the Mennonite Church and people. For society is never stagnant, but always changing in an endless rhythm of disorganization and reorganization of the social fabric. It is only that at times this change is slow and barely perceptible; at other times it is rapid, perturbing, and even chaotic. Some peoples and nations seem never satisfied with the present and always looking for a better future while others cling tenaciously to all that is hallowed by long usage and dear memories. It is probably true, however, that people whose thoughts and life are strongly centered upon religious ideals tend to be more conservative than those who have become secularized.

But secularization itself is just one aspect of the profound changes that Western civilization has undergone since the great Reformation of the sixteenth century. And it would seem that this profound change of the web of life became ever more rapid and more confusing as time went on, and that it is perhaps nowhere as conspicuous as in America. Thus other religious groups on this continent, the Congregationalists of New England, the Episcopalians, the Roman Catholics, for instance, have been confronted with very similar conflicts and problems as the Mennonites. They all have been struggling to stem the flood of secularism which threatens to engulf them and Christianity itself. But in the course of time, these old religious communities and traditional churches have adjusted themselves somehow to the new conditions, and have themselves undergone many changes. So have the Mennonite churches as you yourself know best.

[1] A paper read before the Mennonite Historical Society at Goshen College on March 30, 1950, by Prof. E. K. Francis of the Department of Sociology, the University of Notre Dame.

Nevertheless, it is probably not too much to say that the Mennonites have tried to put up a much stiffer resistance than many others against the new ideas, the ideas of progress. They have isolated themselves and their children as much as they could against such outside influences, above all against their carriers, that is, the secular press, the radio, the movies, and the public school, through which the Gospel of progress is being impressed day after day upon the minds of the people. I said "Gospel of progress." For indeed the idea of progress to which Americans at large adhere implies a view of life, a philosophy, which in many ways replaces, and is meant to replace, the values of Christian religion which are not of this world, by other and essentially worldly values and ideals. Thus the conflict with the "progress" of big business, of Hollywood, of the Atom bomb, and so on, has confronted the Mennonites, as much as other religious folk groups, with very grave problems.

But tonight I do not intend to discuss with you these problems which weigh heavily upon all Christians in America, or even the special problems of the Mennonite Church in general. I shall speak only of one group of your brethren, altogether less than 40,000 of them, who reside in another country, who are rather distantly related to yourself, and whose history differs widely from the one with which you are most familiar. Before I begin to unroll the fascinating panorama of Mennonite history in Manitoba before your eyes, may I be permitted to make a personal remark with regard to a book which I have been bold enough to prepare for publication. I have called it: *In Search of Utopia.* This title is not meant in a derogatory sense; in fact it had been suggested by a chance remark made by a young Mennonite who, for a time, acted as a guide on my visits to the so-called East Reserve in Manitoba. I did not mean to ridicule as inveterate seekers of Never-never-land the many friends which I have made among your Manitoban brethren in the course of my travels. In fact, I am convinced that they have often found a better answer than many others to the problems of how to live *in* the world and yet not be *of* the world. Moreover, has not this country, America, always been Utopia, the promised land, for millions of downtrodden people from many shores? Have not, besides the Mennonites, scores of other seekers of truth found here a chance to build their ideal communities and settlements such as New Harmony in Indiana, or the Mormon colony in Utah? Thus it would seem that Utopia is not only a Mennonite dream but essentially also an American dream.

It seems to me that this idea of Utopia helps us best to understand the motives and forces that underlie Mennonite history in Manitoba. For when in the 1870's these people left the Russian Ukraine, their home for a century prior to their emigration, and when some of them turned to the inhospitable backwoods and prairies of the new Canadian West, they were driven by one desire, and one desire only: to find a piece of land for themselves and their children and children's children where they could continue to live in self-sufficient communities, follow their own sacred traditions, and preserve their religious folkways without any interference on the part of the "world."

The Mennonites who settled in Manitoba were, as you may know, composed of three well-defined communities. Two of them had lived in Russia in separate settlements where they had their own churches, and their own civil and economic institutions, namely, in the Fürstenland and Bergthal colonies. The group who came from the Fürstenland colony are better known by the name of "Altkolonier," although both, they and the Bergthal people, hailed from the *Alte Kolonie* around Chortitz in the Dnjepr bend. The third group, however, the Kleine Gemeinde, were actually a dissident church group which had sprung up in the New or Molotschna colony. Thus the traditions of these three groups differed in many details; moreover each one had its separate religious, civil, and economic institutions. Yet all of them belonged to conservative congregations while their more progressive brethren had either remained in Russia or chosen the United States as their new home. While these three communities settled in Manitoba separate from each other in homogeneous villages and areas, they all were bent to preserve their German speech; to build houses as their Frisian ancestors had built them; to revive the old village habitat; to continue the old solidaristic system of farm economy; and to have the same institutions for the administration of estates, fire protection and mutual aid which they had adopted in Russia and partly in Prussia.[2] It is interesting to note that their language as much as their social and economic institutions, although none of them original Mennonite traits, were considered as an essential part of Mennonite religion and were protected by their church, which branded every deviation as evil and, in fact, as sin.

At first, the Manitoba Mennonites were guaranteed all this not only by a formal agreement which they had concluded with the Dominion government but also by the peculiar conditions then pre-

[2] See E. K. Francis, "Mennonite Institutions in Early Manitoba: A Study in Their Origins," *Agricultural History* (June, 1948).

vailing in the newly created province. For Manitoba at the time was very sparsely populated. It lacked any effective local administration. A special law provided for almost complete freedom in the organization of schools, and the responsible authorities were more concerned with attracting efficient settlers than with their cultural assimilation, or their social and political integration. Thus during the first ten years or so, the Mennonite pioneers were pretty much left to shift for themselves; to settle in small villages instead of on their individual homesteads; to divide their land not in compact regular squares as it was usual throughout the west but in so many small intermingled strips; to organize autonomous village and district administrations; to appoint their own schoolteachers; in short, to lay down the law in their colonies according to their own traditions rather than to the Canadian political and legal system.

However, this period of grace came to an end when, in the early 1880's, the Provincial government demanded that the Mennonite Reserves be reorganized as municipalities, that is, local administrative units similar to our counties. This proposal met with little difficulty in the so-called East Reserve. For the new municipality of Hespeler-Hanover not only coincided with the area of the old Mennonite Reserve but the two groups who had settled there, that is, the Kleine Gemeinde and part of the Bergthal people, had from the beginning co-operated in the civil administration so that matters changed but little under the new regime. In the larger and more recently settled West Reserve, however, the situation was much more complicated. The original occupants had been the Altkolonie people, a very strict and conservative group. Since their land was much superior to that in the East Reserve, and since the expected mass emigration of many more Mennonites to Canada failed to materialize so that a large part of the Reserve land remained unoccupied, some of the Bergthal people settled side by side with the Altkolonie group. Now these Bergthal people who were ready to separate from the main body of their congregation in the East Reserve for the sake of personal advantages were of course the more adventurous and enterprising elements. Moreover, their bishop stayed behind in the East Reserve, which at that time lay at a distance of several days of cumbersome cart rides from the West Reserve. Thus the solidarity of the Bergthal group in the West Reserve was much less pronounced than that of any other Mennonite group in Manitoba. They were inclined to settle individually instead of in villages; they were attracted by the opportunities offered by the towns which sprang up along the newly built

railroad lines; in short, they were much more progressive, much less subject to church and social controls, much more willing to adjust themselves to life amidst a new society and culture.

Thus it came about that the Altkolonie people withdrew from their Bergthal neighbors as mortal enemies and established a most rigorous church regime in their half of the West Reserve. They kept their own *Oberschulze* and other officers of civil administration, and punished every infraction of the old economic and social institutions with the church ban. The Bergthal people, on the other hand, struck a deal with the Provincial authorities, helped in the organization of two new rural municipalities, and managed to monopolize all local offices. Moreover they permitted their members to go into business and to live in towns. They also began a wholesale movement to their own farmsteads and thus disrupted the old village communities. They learned, perhaps only too quickly, the economic practices of Anglo-Saxon society, and adopted many new culture traits which to their more orthodox brethren appeared as evil and contrary to Mennonite religion.

It was this rift in the Mennonite society itself which destroyed the original isolation of their colonies. It made it possible for the authorities and Canadians at large to impose upon them new forms of social, economic, and political organization. It brought about the gradual acceptance of Canadian ideas and ways of life by ever more Mennonites, and ultimately broke the ancient traditions altogether. This is of course not to say that this change would not have come about without this defection. On the contrary, the social and economic pressure exerted by a large nation upon a small minority will probably always end in the final loss of the culture of the subordinate group. Nevertheless it remains true that this change was spearheaded and assisted by those Mennonites who put individual interests and advantages before their adherence to ancient, though outdated, traditions.

This very same development can be observed in the pathetic story of the Manitoba school conflict to which we shall devote the greater part of the remaining discussion. For nothing has probably contributed more to the profound changes which the Mennonite group in Manitoba has undergone in the past forty or fifty years, than the substitution of secular, tax-supported, and English public schools for the old Mennonite and German private schools.

As soon as the most pressing needs were taken care of, that is, within a few months or perhaps a year after their arrival, the Mennonite pioneers had appointed teachers from among their midst and

established their own little village schools. These schools stood under the authority of the different churches, and were maintained by the village communities and the parents. Thus they were what we would nowadays call private schools. Yet at the time all schools in Manitoba were of this kind; they were moreover officially recognized by the Manitoba School Law and even supported from public funds as long as they submitted to the supervision by the Provincial School Board which was divided into a Protestant and a Catholic section. Furthermore, by virtue of section 93 of the Canadian constitution and of the special agreement concluded by the Mennonites with the Dominion government, they were given the right to establish their own schools according to their ancient traditions. The question was only whether they would submit to the supervision by the Protestant section of the School Board, and thus become eligible for the Legislative grant, or remain completely independent. On this point there were considerable differences between individual Mennonite communities, and, moreover, they changed their mind repeatedly. Only the Altkolonie people were consistent in their refusal to have anything to do not only with the school authorities but with the government as such.

The early Mennonite schools in Manitoba were as a rule not worse than other rural schools in the country; if anything they were a little better. For at the time the schools in Russia, where they existed, were really farther advanced than in America, and the Mennonite schools had been among the best rural schools in that country. Although their schoolmasters had received an adequate training before coming to Canada, there were not enough of them, partly because many of the better educated people had not emigrated, partly because the villages in Manitoba were much smaller and thus more numerous than in Russia. Thus, in addition to trained teachers, many men had to be appointed to take care of the children who were not well equipped for the job. Thus left without any outside aid, cut off from all German or Russian cultural influences, and without any adequate funds, the Mennonite schools in Manitoba were bound to decline as time went on, while other schools in the country tended to improve greatly with the help of English schoolmasters and clergymen drawn from Ontario and Great Britain, and under the influence of a system of strict supervision set up by the provincial administration.

The organization of rural municipalities in the Mennonite settlements created a new and difficult situation. For the Municipal Law provided that district schools should be erected under the

auspices of the municipalities wherever a sufficient number of taxpayers petitioned for it. Now, district schools were to be supported by all rate-payers in any given school district according to their ability to pay, that is, in proportion to the value of their property, while in the Mennonite school system the heaviest expense, namely, the salary of the teacher, was being collected from the parents in direct proportion to the number of children sent to school. This put a heavy burden upon the poorer and larger families. Thus the municipal administration was welcomed by many Mennonites precisely because it offered a remedy against inequitable school taxes.

From what we have said before about the relations between the different Mennonite groups in the two colonies, you will understand why the West Reserve became the principal scene of the conflict over the school question. We recall that the Bergthal people there were ready not only to accept the municipal system of local administration, but also to avail themselves of the opportunities of economic and personal advancement offered to them by the Canadian system of government. Particularly those in the towns recognized clearly that the old Mennonite private school did not prepare adequately for life in the midst of a highly complex, and technologically and economically advanced, society. For in order to compete successfully in Canadian business and farm economy one had not only to know English well, but also to learn how to use modern farm equipment, how to run one's business efficiently, and how to get along with other Canadians.

When I spoke some time ago of the attitude of the Bergthal group in the West Reserve toward the new as against the old, I may have appeared to many of you as being biased in favor of old Mennonite traditions which after all were not suitable for conditions in the New World. It is true that I am rather enthralled with many of the old customs and habits of the Mennonites as with those of any Old-World peasantry. Moreover in the course of my studies I have learned to appreciate the great merits of a simple frugal life in small, self-sufficient rural communities. I cannot help feeling that the modern individualistic and competitive way of life is much less conducive to a good Christian life than the old solidaristic system of an agrarian society. On the other hand, I shall not deny that those Mennonites who tried to bring about a gradual adjustment of their group to new conditions without giving up the essentials of Mennonite religion have probably been more farsighted, and in the end much more successful, than those who tenaciously clung to many petty details which, after all, were not matters of principle. For it

is these progressive men who have prevented the Mennonite community in Canada's West from being crushed under the impact of a foreign culture. They have prepared a way by which it has been possible for the group to remain intact as a distinct people while at the same time benefiting from the great progress made by Canada's larger society, and adopting many of its ideas and culture traits. But we are anticipating events which really belong to a later period.

The situation which arose in the West Reserve in the 1880's with regard to the school was essentially this: Wherever a sufficient number of Bergthal people petitioned for the organization of a district (or public) school, their Altkolonie neighbors were forced to contribute to its upkeep even if they themselves continued to send their children to their own church schools. This is of course the same situation which exists today in the United States with regard to denominational and other private schools. But the resentment was all the greater as their own misguided brethren appeared to be the cause of the financial burden and injustice inflicted upon the more pious and orthodox Mennonites. The most outstanding figure in the ensuing conflict between the old and the new, the private and the public school, the conservative and the progressive section among the Mennonites, was doubtlessly Heinrich Ewert.[3] Born and partly educated in Prussia, he went to college in the United States and was eventually invited by the progressive group in Manitoba to head a Mennonite normal school which was to be established in Gretna with the approval of the provincial school authorities. This of course is the Mennonite Collegiate Institute with which we are so well acquainted.

Ewert's appointment not only to the post of a principal of the new school but also to that of a public school inspector for Mennonite school districts coincided with the enactment of a new school law in the province. It also coincided with a fateful split in the Bergthal church which was caused primarily by the conflicting opinions in school affairs. When one part of the original Bergthal community settled in the West Reserve while the headquarters of the church remained in the East Reserve, it became soon necessary to divide the two geographically separated congregations. The new bishop for the West Reserve Bergthal church, however, sided with the progressive elements. Thereupon, the more conservative elements among the Bergthal group in the West Reserve formed their

[3] See Paul J. Schäfer, *Heinrich H. Ewert: Lehrer, Erzieher und Prediger der Mennoniten* (Altona, 1945). An exhaustive bibliography is contained in the author's forthcoming volume, *In Search of Utopia: A Social History of the Mennonites in Manitoba,* to be published by The Toronto University Press.

own independent church, the so-called Sommerfeld church, and even the East Reserve Bergthal congregation changed their name to "Chortitz church" to demonstrate their strong disapproval of the modernistic tendencies of the progressive group in the West Reserve who had retained the old name of Bergthal church. While these developments in the field of ecclesiastical organization underline the deep conflict which divided the Manitoba Mennonites over the question of the public school, the Manitoba Public Schools Act of 1890 created a still more explosive situation.

This law had really very little to do with the Mennonites directly but was mainly the result of the desire of the Anglo-Saxon majority to break the position of the French Canadian Catholics. Yet the Mennonite private schools were of course in the same situation as any other church schools in the province, notably the French Catholic parish schools. The School Act provided that all public schools in the province should be strictly nonsectarian, state-controlled, and supported by all taxpayers. However, school attendance was not made compulsory so that the German-speaking Mennonites were free to send their children to German private schools as long as they paid for them in addition to the general school tax levied by the municipality. Moreover, religion could be taught before or after school hours in the public school itself. Finally, the famous bilingual clause of the Laurier-Greenway compromise of 1896 included the permission to teach part of the subjects in the mother tongue of the children if there was a majority of non-English-speaking residents in any one school district.

The new school law, despite its modification five years later, made Ewert's position highly controversial and precarious. For he was the declared champion of the public school and of better training for Mennonite public school teachers. True enough, he could point out that the Public School Act, and particularly the Laurier-Greenway compromise, left plenty of leeway to the Mennonites in the local administration of public schools, at the same time providing them with much better educational facilities than they could ever hope to maintain with their own limited resources. But since nobody could be forced to attend any kind of school the conservative groups among the Mennonites retained and even re-established their little private schools, which thereby were withdrawn from the supervision by the official school inspector, that is, Ewert, and thus did not only not benefit from the general improvement in the educational system of Manitoba but fell into a sharp decline as to their standards and efficiency.

Another source of resistance against the public school was the Mennonite teachers, since few of them met the standards required for teaching in public schools. Though Ewert did his best to provide refresher courses at Gretna, older men found it always difficult to pass the examinations and to attain higher teaching certificates. Particularly the necessity to teach in English, at least part of the time, caused much frustration and despair. On the other hand, few of the younger men (and teaching was always a job for men rather than women among the Mennonites) were attracted to a profession where salaries and living conditions were so much inferior to anything that an able-bodied youth could gain by farming or trading in the heyday of Canada's expanding economy. Thus the public school movement progressed only slowly among the Mennonites in Manitoba while the private schools deteriorated rapidly, when Ewert was suddenly and rudely dismissed as school inspector after twelve years of faithful service. This dismissal was the result of a strange alliance between conservative politicians who catered to the Mennonite vote, and conservative church congregations who forbade their members to vote at all, but to whom Ewert represented the evil forces which threatened the very integrity of the Mennonite community and religion. To make matters worse, a new rift arose among the progressive group themselves over the location of the Mennonite high school. For several years there were two such schools, one in Gretna and the other in near-by Altona, with the result that limited funds and limited personnel were dissipated in fraternal quarrels.

In 1907, a new incident complicated the already sufficiently complex school question still further. By then the Provincial authorities had embarked upon a systematic policy of assimilation in the course of which the flying of the Union Jack over all public school buildings was made compulsory. The idea was, as one author puts it, to transform all non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic elements in the country "into intelligent citizens schooled in Canadian tradition and British ideals of government," and "to inculcate feelings of patriotism and materially assist in the blending together the various nationalities in the province into one citizenship irrespective of race and creed."[4] To the Mennonites, however, the nationalistic ritual imposed upon their children was tantamount to worshiping Caesar, and above all to recognizing the military aspects of the modern state. Thus numerous public schools which had already been instituted in the

[4] Quoted from Roblin's election manifesto of 1907 by Hugh Ross, *Thirty-Five Years in the Limelight: Sir Rodmond Roblin and His Time* (Winnipeg, 1936).

Mennonite settlements, once more reverted to the status of private schools, and the conflict became sharper than ever.

By the outbreak of World War I, the coherence of the Mennonite group in Manitoba was seriously weakened and social life in their settlements was poisoned. Different church congregations accused each other either of heresy or of indolence. The Altkolonie and to some extent also the Sommerfeld and Chortitz people retired more and more into stubborn isolation while others, such as the Bergthal congregation, the newly organized congregations of Brethren, and certain groups in the East Reserve, sought ever closer contact with the larger Canadian society, its values, its economic advantages, and its agents. Yet, unlike in the recent war, social controls were still strong enough to make all Mennonites hold fast to the pacifistic tenets of their faith. This and the fact that they spoke German made them doubly suspect in the eyes of other Canadians when patriotic feelings ran high, which definitely affected subsequent events. In 1916, the Manitoba school question was brought to a head with the promulgation of the School Attendance Act. Once more it was, however, not primarily the Mennonites against which it was directed. What the new Liberal Minister of Education, Dr. Thornton, and his party were mostly concerned with were serious national and cultural problems created by the influx of new immigrants since 1890. Particularly in the field of public education the bilingual clause of the Laurier-Greenway compromise had resulted in a great confusion in certain mixed school districts where for instance a temporary Ukrainian or Polish majority could impose instruction in their language on the children of English-speaking natives.

I shall not bother you with details of this cumbersome controversy. It will suffice to realize that by the fiat and unilateral decision of a political, perhaps even a popular, majority in the province a uniformly English and secular school was forced upon all the ethnic groups, that is, a school in which all children of school age were to be indoctrinated with Anglo-Canadian ideals and imbued with Anglo-Canadian culture. This was achieved by the radical abolishment of bilingualism and the institution of compulsory school attendance. Nevertheless, it was still permissible to send one's children to private schools as long as these conformed with the standards set up by the school administration.

However, this last provision was of course a potent instrument in the hands of the men in power. For they were always free to condemn any private school as inadequate and thereby to force its

pupils to attend the public school. For a while the Mennonites were able to avail themselves of the loophole left in the school law, though this had been done not for their benefit but in order to honor the constitutional rights of the French Catholics. Thus, they still could send their children to their own schools where Mennonite principles and the German language were taught, but only as long as this was tolerated by the administrators.

Yet this brought only temporary relief since the government and the public were definitely bent upon breaking up the private school among the Mennonites and all other ethnic groups. They had the power to do so, and they did not hesitate to use it. Once a private school was condemned, even though the local people were unwilling to organize a public school in its stead, the Minister of Education had a right to appoint an official school trustee who would requisition the necessary funds and buildings, and see to it that all the children in a given district would attend the new public school. Professor Sissons of Toronto has summed up the situation which was thus created in the Mennonite Reserves in the following words: "When the war spirit got hold of the West, and to poor equipment were added the dual sins of pacifism and German speech, . . . recourse were had to compulsion."[5] Whole villages, with their preachers and bishop, particularly among the Altkolonie people, were summoned before the local magistrate and heavily fined; some of them even served terms in the local jail. Thus the conflict ended with a full victory of those who, with Dr. Thornton, held that "there is one essential thing and that is that we must all be able to speak the common language."[6] Many of the more conservative Mennonites, the whole Altkolonie group and some Sommerfeld and Chortitz people, decided to leave Canada altogether and to seek a new home in Mexico and Paraguay. The rest, however, had to submit to a situation in which the cultural isolation of the Mennonites became a thing of the past, and new ideas and ways of life found free entrance into their families, local communities, and even religious congregations.

In conclusion I may be permitted to say a few more words about the effects which the great changes initiated primarily through the public school have had upon the integrity of the Mennonite group in Manitoba. In order to round out the picture, however, I

[5] C. B. Sissons, *Bi-Lingual Schools in Canada* (London, 1917). For a much less friendly appraisal see also George M. Weir, *The Separate School Question in Canada* (Toronto, 1934).

[6] Election speech by Dr. R. S. Thornton in Brandon, January 17, 1921.

have to mention another important factor which has substantially contributed to the reorganization of the Mennonite community since the first World War, namely, the new Russländer immigration after 1923. The addition of these refugees from Communist Russia to Canada's Mennonite population by far outnumbered the losses suffered by the exodus to Latin America. Now, these newcomers were much more progressive and better educated than either the conservative groups who had left or those who had stayed behind. From the beginning they sided with the champions of progressive education in public schools. Many of them were teachers, or ready to train themselves for the teaching profession. Thus it is mainly because of the influence of this group that within a few years the public schools in the Mennonite settlements were not only staffed with excellent teachers of their own but have become genuine Mennonite institutions under the local control of Mennonites. This amazing integration of the new secular school into Mennonite social life as a whole is doubtlessly to be attributed to the merit of the successors of the late Heinrich Ewert who have been found among the Russländer immigrants, and by now also among their grown-up children.

Thus both the public school and the great shift in Manitoba's Mennonite population have worked in the same direction. This was clearly recognized by Professor C. A. Dawson, of McGill University, who surveyed the West Reserve and another Mennonite settlement in Saskatchewan, shortly before the full impact of the Great Depression had made itself felt.[7] With much justification he declared: "The school has become the nucleus of Canadian [he means: Anglo-Saxon Canadian] agricultural, athletic, and literary organizations where young people participate in competitive games, debating, dramatics, and other departures from Mennonite traditions." To these may be added many more innovations which, in the meantime, have been introduced under the auspices of the public school and its teachers, such as school picnics, parent-teachers associations, musical festivals, baseball teams, and so on. Most conspicuous is of course the general adoption of the English language and the steady decline of the knowledge of High German at least among the native population, although the Low German folk dialect is still understood by practically every Mennonite and extensively used in home and community life. All these new traits, however, have become part and parcel of contemporary Mennonite folklore and folk-

[7] *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* (Toronto, 1936).

ways, and thus have ceased to be felt as alien or to cause conflict and friction. Moreover they have paved the way for other more subtle changes in habits and attitudes.

Modern forms of recreation and amusements, such as radio and car rides, have found entrance into Mennonite life, though attendance at dances, moving pictures, and other forms of commercialized amusements has spread much more slowly than it was predicted by Dawson in 1932. Similarly, modern clothing and many Anglo-Saxon dishes have become generally accepted, and the amount of food bought commercially has vastly increased, while the architecture of buildings, furniture, interior decorating, and so on, are now entirely adjusted to standards dictated by the homemaking industries. The same adjustment, if possible still more complete, has been made with regard to farm equipment and business practices, local workshops and industries. Even interest in politics and elections has increased considerably. In brief, Mennonites have become fully familiar with modern, Anglo-American, ways of life, and have adopted most of its prominent traits just as the majority of their South German and Swiss brethren in the Eastern United States have done. In some ways they have proved even less resistant to culture change when, for instance, about half of their eligible young men have joined the Canadian armed forces during the last war. Yet in other respects this change has been less profound than it would seem on the surface, as shall be shown further below.

Most crucial of all are the changes which, in the wake of this gradual process of acculturation, have occurred in the religious sphere. Secularization has advanced in much the same way as had been indicated by Professor Dawson almost twenty years ago: "a) Contacts with other Christian denominations have resulted in an elaboration of ritual and church organization among the more liberal branches of the sect; b) a growing tolerance of the world and a differentiation between the sacred and the secular have made the church one among other institutions in the community." Religious subdivisions have further multiplied which, according to the Montreal sociologist, "marked the growth of a type of denominationalism which is adjusted to the secular interests of the more individualistic Canadian communities." Equally true remains what he wrote of church attendance, namely, that "it is submitted to as a formality without great basis of conviction" by many. In some places, English has been substituted for High German as church language in order to serve a younger generation who, because of their training in English public schools, have but a rudimentary

knowledge of High German. Similarly, many other forms of church activities which were entirely alien to older Mennonite practices have been taken over from Anglo-Saxon Protestantism in Canada as well as in the United States. Thus Dawson's summary, written in 1932, represents even today a valid description of the total situation: "More and more Mennonites are coming into the possession of the language and ideas of the Canadian West . . . . Of course there are no longer any persons in these Mennonite communities who are exclusively sectarian or completely worldly. All are mixtures, with sectarian components predominating in some and secular chacteristics in others."

However, in other respects, Dawson's predictions have not been verified by subsequent events as when he expected that the Mennonites would eventually mingle with members of other ethnic groups indiscriminately in their social activities. On the contrary, the Mennonite settlements, and particularly the towns in them, have, if anything, become more homogeneous ethnically, and more self-sufficient socially, though of course not economically, than they had been around 1930. Similarly the cohesion of the family has not suffered to any great degree, kinship ties are as strong as ever, and marriages outside the group are rare. Nor has the appearance of non-Mennonite sects in the Mennonite settlements, such as the Adventists or Pentecostals, signalized any great losses in total Mennonite church membership but have only led to shifts from one Mennonite religious community to another when these intrusions from outside stimulated revivalistic and evangelical tendencies in certain Mennonite church bodies. In fact, contrary to Dawson's expectations, the Mennonite group in Manitoba has, in the period between the beginning of the Great Depression and the end of World War II, undergone a considerable consolidation and a reorganization of its inner structure through which the disorganizing effects of the public school, of the migrations of the 1920's, and of the necessary adjustment to the economy of the larger society, have been successfully counterbalanced. While Dawson, in 1932, predicted that "the final absorption of Mennonite settlements into the general stream of Canadian life" was but a matter of time, I myself, on the basis of more recent observations made shortly after the end of the war, have come to almost opposite conclusions.

In order to understand the actual situation we should make clear to ourselves that what separates a given human group from another one are not necessarily distinctive culture traits which are the exclusive possession of one group, such as a special language,

particular customs and costumes, distinct racial and somatic characteristics, and so on. For culture is always bound to change, and the borrowing of culture traits goes on wherever different peoples and nations meet. There is, however, a great difference as to whether the individual members of a given group accept the culture of some other group in order to join the latter and become assimilated into it as individuals; or whether a whole integrated group accommodates itself to some other people by adopting their language, their business practices, their ways of thinking, by acculturation. For assimilation always means loss of the members of one group to another group ultimately resulting in the disappearance of the former, and its absorption by the latter. Acculturation, on the other hand, may simply be a device by which a minority or folk group as such, not its individual members, accommodates itself to a strong and dominant social system, with which it comes into close and irresistible contact, in such a way that both, conflict with the larger society and absorption into it, are successfully avoided. Accommodation of the second type is precisely what has happened among the Manitoba Mennonites. As a group, they have not become seriously disorganized, they have not disintegrated, and they have not been completely absorbed into the larger Canadian society. On the contrary, the Mennonite group still persists as a distinctive and largely independent social system within the more inclusive social system of Canada and ultimately Anglo-Saxon America; it is united by a specific group solidarity and we-feeling, coherent within itself, and relatively closed against the outgroup. Above all there are but few losses of individual members to the larger society, few conversions to non-Mennonite churches (and vice versa), and few marriages outside the essentially endogamous group, despite the fact that the struggle between progress and tradition has in the meantime ended with the almost complete victory of the new over the old.

Unfortunately, time does not permit me to explain to you some of the reasons which seem to be responsible for this striking metamorphosis from a state of considerable disintegration of the group which could be observed around 1930, to one which shows it to have become more solidary, more coherent, more integrated, and more self-reliant socially than it had been twenty years ago. In this regard I can do little else but to ask for your patience until the time when my complete report on the subject will become available in print. It is there that, among others, I have tried to analyze the influence of the Great Depression on the reorganization of the Mennonite group in Manitoba, and to prove that it was this experience which

has led them to a re-evaluation of their own traditions as compared with the ethos and individualism of Anglo-Saxon society which, up to its failure in this crisis, they had considered so vastly superior to their own solidaristic and co-operative ways of living and of making a living. And it is in this connection that I have proposed the conclusion that "as long as the Mennonites feel that a certain, if limited, basis of traditional meanings and values is preferable to anything else we would suspect that the cohesion, and thus the continued existence, of the group will not suffer substantially . . . . Even the secularized Mennonites of today retain a certain core of those values which originally have developed on the basis of their religion. Thus even in its secularized form, religion appears as the strongest single force contributing to the integration of the Mennonite ethnic group." Other factors which I have discussed in my book, besides those of economy and religion, refer to familistic forms of social organization still prevailing among them, to their essentially rural habitat, agrarian culture, and to the fact that the great majority of the Manitoba Mennonites are concentrated in two well-defined areas of compact settlement, which moreover, by steady expansion on the fringes, tend to develop into one contiguous block of Mennonite land property. Yet you will understand that a discussion of all these factors would involve problems far too complex to be properly treated at this late hour. I may only be permitted to quote myself once more and for the last time tonight. In the epilogue to my study I have emphasized that the changes which have occurred in the Mennonite economic and social system during and since the depression appear "as the unbroken continuation of older forms of social organization; as young healthy shoots springing forth from the yet green roots of an aged trunk whose top has been capped by the storms of time." And I concluded by taking up the leitmotif of my story of the Manitoba Mennonites: "If not Utopia, [they] have found the next best to it: social and psychological security in a well-organized community, land that they can call their own, moderate wealth, enough to give them a sense of satisfaction and contentedness—which is perhaps the most we can hope for here below . . . ."

SOURCES ON THE MENNONITE IMMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA IN THE 1870's

EDITED BY ERNST CORRELL

INTRODUCTION BY HAROLD S. BENDER

The founders and editors of this Quarterly and of the Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History are of one mind in the requirement that research and publications under these auspices should be on the broadest possible foundation of primary sources. A wide experience in Anabaptist-Mennonite historiography has, through the decades, added to this conviction. Dr. Correll's comparative studies of social and economic ethics of religious groups made the restricted access to proper historical information especially evident. Here, as in other related fields, it was found that too many writers were willing to evolve unwarranted arguments. Others drew hasty conclusions which a fuller scope of factual criteria could have prevented at the start.

Progress has indeed been made in the gathering and presentation of records during the last decade. The formation and growth of church archival deposits and their skilled administration; the work of the Mennonite Research Foundation and similar agencies assure the continuance of objective research and study. Among the urgent desiderata is the ideal of printed collections within systematic frames of reference and fitting cartographies covering the amazing trek of Mennonite migrations.

Considerable advance has been accomplished in the use of sources in the immigration history from Russia. This can be seen in Cornelius Krahn's "Historical Committee Series" From the Steppes to the Prairies, 1874-1949, *(Newton, Kansas,* 1949) *especially in the studies of Leland Harder, Melvin Gingerich, and Kempes Schnell. None of these specialists is likely to disagree with the contention that were it not for the difficulties in reaching widely scattered multi-archival establishments their contributions could reach still deeper.*

The present documentary publication was initiated by a German-Russian scholar, Dr. phil. Georg Leibbrandt, who, as a Rockefeller Fellow nearly two decades past, was on occasion a guest in the Graduate History Department of The American University. His excellent "Auswanderung aus Schwaben nach Russland, 1816-1823," *(Stuttgart,* 1928), *the story of his Pietist ancestor and followers, led Dr. Leibbrandt close to our historical interests. This Swabian movement, a near parallel to the Mennonites, was discussed in Robert Friedmann's "Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries,"* (1949), pp. 17*f. Dr. Leibbrandt subsequently developed a little known diplomatic background in the "Emigration of the German Mennonites from Russia to the U.S. and Canada,* 1873-1880" (REVIEW, *Oct.* 1932:205-226, *and January,* 1933:5-41). *Dr. Correll recommended the expansion of these articles and their eventual incorporation into our Studies. Before returning to Germany (Spring,* 1933) *Dr. Leibbrandt prepared an elaboration of his essay, adding a number of unpublished archival items. The Board asked Dr. Correll to edit and enlarge the manuscript where necessary.*

Checks made by Dr. Correll in federal and state archives; the Public Archives of Canada; and the Public Records Office in London brought to the surface overwhelming amounts of document bearing intimately on domestic and foreign (Mennonite and diplomatic) negotiations. These un-

expected findings were not merely supplementary to Dr. Leibbrandt's manuscript. It was assumed that an execution of these tasks would be feasible (REVIEW, *July*, 1937: 198). *Considerable time was spent in archives and special libraries including the one in Scottdale and the historical collections at Haverford and Swarthmore. The late Professor C. Henry Smith of Bluffton College also kindly opened his collections. A number of other scholars in American and Canadian institutions gave generous assistance.*

In the fall of 1938 *Dr. Leibbrandt cancelled his interest in the matter whereupon the Mennonite Publishing House under date of Nov.* 3, 1938, *refunded to Dr. Leibbrandt the sum of money deposited by him in* 1933 *for the prospective publication.*

Meanwhile, in line with his archival and other discoveries, Dr. Correll had produced several reports in the REVIEW, *to wit: "President Grant and the Mennonite Immigration from Russia," July,* 1935: 144-152; *"Mennonite Immigration into Manitoba, Canada, Sources and Documents,* 1872, 1873," *July* 1937: 196-227, *and Oct.* 1937: 267-283. *An ever-increasing harvest of practically unknown records from public and private quarters suggested that Dr. Correll prepare in extenso an annotated "Edition of State Documents on Mennonite Immigration from Russia to Manitoba (Canada); Minnesota; Dakota Territory; Kansas; Nebraska,* 1871-1877." *The projected title was listed in The American Historical Review (Supplement) of April,* 1940. *Then the war brought restrictions on the accessibility of significant materials as well as on checking processes, and when Dr. Correll's university duties became too absorbing, the project had to be relinquished.*

In 1946 *care was taken to secure for serial publication in the* REVIEW *the following records and discussions by Dr. Correll:*

"The Congressional Debates on the Mennonite Immigration from Russia, 1873-4," *July,* 1946: 178-221.

"The Mennonite Loan in the Canadian Parliament, 1875," *Oct.* 1946: 255-295.

"Canadian Agricultural Records on Mennonite Settlements, 1875-77," *Jan.* 1947: 34-46.

"Mennonite Immigration into Manitoba: Documents and Sources, 1873-74," *Jan.* 1948:43-57.

During the years in which these records were being published by the REVIEW, *several other source articles not directly related to the series appeared in this quarterly. These were "Diary of Paul Tschetter,* 1873," *edited by J. M. Hofer in April,* 1931: 112-127, *and July,* 1931: 198-220; *"Defense of the Ancient Principle of Nonresistance by a leading Prussian Elder (Wilhelm Ewert) in* 1873," *Oct.* 1937: 284-290; *"Childhood Reminiscences of a Russian Immigrant Mother,* 1859-1880," *edited by C. C. Regier in April* 1941: 83-94; *and "Passenger List of Mennonite Immigrants from Russia in* 1878," *edited by H. S. Bender in October,* 1941: 263-276.

When in the fall of 1949 *Dr. Correll began a year's sabbatical leave he set up in The Mennonite Historical Society of Goshen College the "Ernst Correll Collection." Among other source papers in Anabaptistica and Mennonitica the filed holdings contain the bulk of unpublished materials on relevant immigration topics mostly in typewritten form or photostatic records of federal, state, and foreign proceedings and various correspondences and other data from the following major sources:*

Public Archives of Canada
Secretary of State Papers
Papers of the Governor General
Department of External Affairs Records

Department of Agriculture
Reports of Minister of Agriculture
General Correspondence
Sessional Papers
Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada
Congressional Record
State Documents of Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, etc.
Public Records Office, London
The (British) Friend
Friends Historical Library Records, Swarthmore College
Mennonitische Blätter Letters

The "Ernst Correll Collection" also contains a bibliographical card catalogue of about 1,000 *partly annotated entries. These pertain to various facets of the Dutch-Frisian group including the Swiss-Palatinate and Hutterian branches in Eastern Europe, their migration and settlement history with some attention to economic attainments.*

Deposited in the "Archives of the Mennonite Church" at Goshen College, the Correll Collection is supplementary to the John F. Funk Collection and other deposits in that location. Students of immigration history are entitled to free access in accordance with regulations worked out by Dr. Correll; Dr. H. S. Bender, President, Mennonite Historical Society; Dr. Melvin Gingerich, Custodian, Archives of the Mennonite Church; and Mr. N. P. Springer, Archivist and Librarian.

The documents in the present installment are self-explanatory and relate to the previous publications as listed above.—H.S.B.

I. Canadian Records

A. *Cornelius Jansen to Falck and Co. Shipping Agent for the Canadian Government in Hamburg, Germany. Berdiansk* 7/19 *April* 1873.

Source:

Public Archives of Canada. Department of Agriculture General Correspondence 8333.

(Official Translation from the German)

. . . That free action . . . is greatly impaired and that it requires energetic support and favor of other Governments you will readily understand when I inform you that about two weeks ago I received peremptory orders through the police from the Minister of the Emperor to leave the country within seven days and even without a trial, upon a charge laid by parties whose names would not be revealed, that I had by false representations regarding the position of the Menonites, created excitement and induced them to emigrate to America. I protested at once and telegraphed to our Ministry as also to our Ambassador at St. Petersburg and through their united efforts and representations that I were the founder and for many years the representative of the Prussian and Mecklenburg Consulate here, and a resident for 17 years, I was allowed two months to arrange my affairs. As business man you know and can best judge how damaging this affair will effect me. The only good it will have, being that this banishment will give me material with my hands to operate from a foreign country, the more energetically for my people. Referring to your letters I observe with pleasure

the offers to our delegates and emigrants and thank you for your kind advice, which I intend to follow and make use of. Regarding myself personally, I wish to be distinctly understood that I expect no remuneration and make no claims for what I do in the premises, whatever I do for our people, is done purely from sympathy for them without any further claims. Also in regard to the contemplated interview between our deputies and myself, I have been misunderstood for I do not intend to await them in Baltimore, but we have arranged that I will meet them in the interview and that in the meantime Elkhart in Indiana is fixed as our place of "rendezvous".

Our delegates prepare for the journey and contemplated to start 16/28 April, but neither will they nor I fail to notify you by telegram in due time of such start.

B. *Privileges granted by the Canadian Government to prospective Mennonite Immigrants in a Letter by the Secretary of Agriculture dated July 26, 1873.*

Source:

Department of Agriculture Letters Sent, Vol. 7, 1873, pp. 167-169, in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Canada. See also C. Henry Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites,* (Berne, Indiana, 1927) pp. 67-69. There are slight differences in the wording of this document as it is given above and as it appears in Smith's book. Smith evidently did not use an exact copy of the original. This again proves the necessity of using accurate, original sources. The same letter was quoted and read in the U. S. Senate on April 14, 1874 by Senator Windom and was made part of the *Congressional Record* excepting the names of the addressees.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Ottawa, 26th July 1873

Messrs. David Klaasen
Jacob Peters
Heinrich Wiebe
Cornelius Toews
Menonite, (*sic*), Delegates from Southern Russia

Gentlemen,

I have the honour under instruction of the Hon. the Minister of Agriculture, to state to you in reply to your letter of this days date, the following facts relating to advantages offered to settlers, and to the immunities afforded to Menonites, (*sic*), which are established by the Statute law of Canada and by orders of His Excellency the Governor General in Council, for the information of German Mennonites having intention to emigrate to Canada via Hamburg.

1. An entire exemption from any Military service is by law and order in Council granted to the denomination of Christians called Menonites.

2. An order in Council was passed on the 3rd March last to reserve eight townships in the Province of Manitoba for free grants on the condition of settlement as provided in the Dominion Lands Act, that is to say "any person who is the head of a family or has attained the age of 21 years, shall be entitled to be entered for one quarter section or a less quantity of unappropriated Dominion Lands for the purpose of securing a homestead right in respect thereof."

3. The said reserve of eight Townships is for the exclusive use of the Menonites, and the said free grants of one quarter section, to consist of 160 acres each, as defined by the act.

4. Should the Menonite settlement extend beyond the eight Townships set aside by the Order in Council of March 3rd last other Townships will be in the same way reserved to meet the full requirements of Menonite immigration.

5. If next spring the Menonite settlers on viewing the eight Townships set aside for their use, should prefer to exchange them for any other eight unoccupied Townships, such exchange will be allowed.

6. In addition to the free grant of a ¼ section or 160 acres to every person over 21 years of age on the condition of settlement the right to purchase the remaining ¾ of the section, at $1.00 per acre, is granted by law so as to complete the whole section of 640 acres, which is the largest quantity of land the Government will grant a Patent for to one person.

7. The Settler will receive a Patent for a free grant after three years residence, in accordance with the terms of the Dominion Lands Act.

8. In the event of the death of the settler the lawful heirs can claim the Patent for the free grant upon proof that settlement duties for three years have been performed.

9. From the moment of occupation the settler acquires a "homestead right" in the land.

10. The fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded to the Menonites without any kind of molestation of restriction whatever; and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools.

11. The privilege of affirming instead of making affidavits is afforded by law.

12. The Government of Canada will undertake to furnish Passenger Warrants from Hamburg to Fort Garry for Menonite families of good character, for the sum of $30.00 per adult person over the age of 8 years, for persons under 8 years half price or $15.00; and for infants under one years $3.00.

13. The Minister specially authorises me to state that this arrangement as to price shall not be changed for the seasons of 1874, 1875 and 1876.

14. I am further to state that if it is changed thereafter, the price shall not up to the year 1882 exceed $40.00 per adult, and children in proportion, subject to the approval of Parliament.

15. The immigrants will be provided with provisions on the portion of the journey between Liverpool and Collingwood; but during other portions of the journey they are to find their own provisions.

John Lowe
Secy. Dept. Agriculture.

C. *Report of the Minister of Agriculture of the Dominion of Canada for the Calendar Year 1873 on Mennonite Immigration.*

Source:

Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada, 1874, Volume 6, from the Annual Reports of the Immigration Agents, pp. XI-XIV.

Mr. William Hespeler was appointed agent at Winnipeg by Order in Council date August 15th last. (1873).

It may be remarked that four delegates from the German Mennonite Province of Berdiansk, in South Russia, visited this country during the summer of 1873, for the purpose of ascertaining its suitability as a field for Mennonite settlement, and the terms which they could obtain from the Government of the Dominion.

As this immigration of German Mennonites to Canada promises to become a question of importance, it may be well to give some particulars respecting the causes of the movement. The German Mennonites of Russia are said to have left Prussia, their former country, on account of religious objections held by them to military service. They settled in Russia on a promise made to them by the Czar that they should be exempt from such service, be allowed to educate their children in their own way in their own schools in the German language, and suffered to make use of affirmation instead of oath in courts of justice.

Their present number is estimated to be from 50,000 to 80,000 souls.

The portion of country inhabited by them is situated on the Sea of Azof on the 47th parallel of latitude. The climate is pretty severe, the mean temperature of the winter being similar to that of the borders of the Baltic at the mouth of the Vistula. The soil is described in Russian documents as belonging to the class called *tchernozeme,* or *terre noire,* (black earth) in some parts of which sand and clay are found separated and mixed. Official returns represent that part of Russia as being of good average fertility, but almost entirely deprived of wood.

In the same document, the mode of cultivation is said to belong to the class which is styled in Russia *"La culture libre des Steppes",* that is, not subjected to any systematic rotation of crops.

The Mennonites, besides raising sheep and other animals, appear to be large producers of grain, the surplus of which is exported through the ports of the Black Sea.

The cause of the new projected exodus is again the question of military service from which the Czar refuses now to exempt them. It is also coupled with a question of schools, a new ukase requiring that their children should be instructed in the Russian language, and made to submit to regulations respecting tuition to which they cannot in conscience consent.

The first intimation made to the Canadian Government of the proposed emigration from Russia, was contained in a despatch (No. 51) dated the 7th March, 1872, from the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The despatch had reference to letters from Mr. Zohrab, Her Majesty's Consul at Berdiansk, and from leading Mennonites, enquiring whether, if these people emigrated to Canada, they would be allowed exemption from military service, and from the ordinary form of oath; asking moreover what advantages they might calculate upon in the way of land grants.

In pursuance of an Order in Council, dated April 26th, 1872, favourable answers were returned to the enquiries of the Mennonites, and delegates from among themselves were invited to visit Canada, the Department of Agriculture undertaking to defray the expenses of such visit.

During the summer of 1872, Mr. Hespeler, then Emigration Agent in Germany, was instructed to visit Berdiansk, and he spent some time

among the Mennonites, assuring them of the good will of the Canadian Government, and of its desire to accept them as settlers upon the condition of securing to them the privileges they demanded.

Difficulties however arose from the fact that, although the Russian Government has given liberty to these people to leave Russia, provided they do so before the year 1883, it is still averse to any interference of agents, either inviting them to emigrate or directing their emigration, or to allow any specific means of transport to be applied to such emigration by any foreign power or agency.

Since Mr. Hespeler's visit to Russia, somewhat impeded by these difficulties, every effort has been made that could be made to invite the Mennonites to settle in Canada. This country was visited by their delegates in 1872 and again in 1873. The delegates in 1872 were accompanied in their visit through the country by Mr. J. Y. Shantz, one of their religious brethren settled in Ontario; and the delegates of 1873 were also accompanied by Mr. Shantz and Mr. Hespeler.

Upon their selecting the Province of Manitoba as one of the parts of America in which they intended to settle, an Order in Council was passed on the 3rd of March, 1873, setting apart eight townships in the southeast part of that Province for their occupation, the land being given free on the condition of settlement.

The advantages accorded to the Mennonites were communicated to their delegates, and the Government thus became pledged to them.

The obligations contracted towards these people, as enumerated in the letter to the Mennonite delegates, under date of July 26th, 1873, are:—

1st. Entire exemption from military service.

2nd. A free grant of lands in Manitoba.

3rd. The privilege of religious schools of their own.

4th. The privilege of affirming instead of making oaths in courts.

5th. The passenger warrants, from Hamburg to Fort Garry, for the sum of $30 per adult, $15 for children under eight years, and $3 for infants under one year.

6th. These prices not to be changed during the years 1874, 1875, 1876, and if changed afterwards, not to exceed $40 up to the year 1882.

7th. The emigrants to be provided with provisions during their journey between Liverpool and Collingwood.

There is no certainty as to the number of Mennonites who may be expected to come in 1874. The estimates from various sources range between 50 and 700 families.

An arrangement has been made with the Dominion Line of steamers to carry and feed the Mennonite immigrants from Hamburg to Quebec for the sum of five pounds sterling, which may be stated in round numbers at $25 dollars per "ocean adult". The Mennonites give $30 per "ocean adult" for the entire passage, there will be a balance of $5 each to go towards defraying the expenses from Quebec to Winnipeg.

All immigrants for Manitoba arriving at Quebec before the 26th of May will have to be forwarded by the mixed American and Canadian routes of travel, the Dawson route not being open for regular traffic before the 1st of June.

The following are, as nearly as can be stated, the rates of passage by railway and steamboats on the two lines of travel, conveniently available for the forwarding of the Russian Mennonites.

Duluth Route.

Quebec to Toronto, per Grand Trunk	$ 3.50
Toronto to Collingwood, by rail	1.00
Collingwood to Duluth, by steamer	5.00
Duluth to Moorehead, by rail	10.00
Moorehead to Fort Garry, by steamer	12.00
Total cost	$31.50

If caravans are used between Moorehead or Breckenridge to the Mennonite Townships then the cost will be increased from $12 to $30, making in this case the total $39.50.

Chicago and St. Paul Route.

Quebec to St. Paul via Chicago, by railway	$23.50
St. Paul to Moorehead or Breckenridge, by railway	15.00
Moorehead to Breckenridge to Fort Garry, by steamer	12.00
	$50.50

Dawson Route.

The total cost to the Government by the Dawson route is estimated as follows:—

Quebec to Collingwood	$ 4.50
Collingwood to Fort William, by steamer	4.00
Fort William to Fort Garry, by Dawson Road	15.00
	$23.50

To these charges are to be added the meals, which cannot, under the circumstances, with the best arrangements, cost less than 50 cents per head per day.

The time estimated to be taken by the Dawson route, which is longer than by the other two, may be stated at fifteen days, in case no delay or mishap occurs, viz. three days, including stoppages and transhipment from Quebec to Collingwood, four days from Collingwood to Fort William, and eight days on the Dawson Road. The feeding of each passenger from Quebec to Red River will therefore add $7.50 for each person to the cost of travel.

Mr. Dawson affirms that for four months from the 1st of June, his road will be quite adequate to accommodate and carry a constant stream of passengers of one hundred persons departing every day with their luggage from Fort William.

The total estimated cost by the Dawson road is, therefore, meals included, $31 for every person.

The amount of obligation contracted by the Government (besides Ocean transfer already dealt with) is—

Passage from Quebec to Fort Garry	$23.50
Meals from Quebec to Collingwood	1.50
	$25.00

Deducting the balance of $5 on the ocean passage from the sum of $30 dollars paid by the immigrant, leaves a sum of $20 as the minimum obligation of the Canadian Government towards every Mennonite immigrant.

D. *Report of Minister of Agriculture of Canada for 1874.*

Source:

Sessional Papers 40-95. Vol. VIII No. 8, 1875.

p. XIII

Mr. Stafford, the Quebec Agent, reports that the immigrants who arrived this season were remarkably healthy, and well adapted to the country, but the numbers did not equal the demands for farm labourers and domestic servants. He particularly notices the arrival of 1,532 Mennonites from South Russia, for settlement in Manitoba; 1,349 were forwarded to that Province and the remainder stayed with their friends in Ontario owing to the lateness of their arrival. They brought a considerable amount of specie with them.

p. XVI

A marked feature in the seasons immigration to Manitoba was the arrival of 258 families (or 1,349 souls) of Mennonites from South Russia. They arrived somewhat late in the season but succeeded, in a very short time, in erecting suitable homes on their allotments, and making necessary provision for the winter. They spent a good deal of money in Winnipeg in purchasing supplies and they are reported to be very well satisfied with their position and prospects. It is expected they will be joined by others of their brethren during the coming season.

p. XVII

In mentioning the Mennonite expenditure, it may be particularly noted that owing to the fact of the Mennonites last summer not having come by the line with which the Department had made as an arrangement, a sum of $5 per adult was collected at Quebec on their arrival, but it was promptly paid on demand, after their settlement in Manitoba the collection being made at the request of the Department by Mr. J. Y. Shantz of Berlin, Ontario, and an amount of $5,158.70 refunded.

II. United States Diplomatic Despatches

A. *Timothy C. Smith, U.S. Consul to U.S. Dept. of State, No. 103, April 1, 1871.*

Source:

U. S. Dept. of State, Despatches, Odessa, Vol. 5.

The Prussian system of compulsory military service, for all male subjects, now being introduced in this country, causes some dissatisfaction, especially in Poland and in the Caucasus where it is already hinted the Government may be warming a viper to be hereafter stung by it. There are also several colonies of Mennonites in the south of Russia who have made earnest appeal to the Imperial Government to be exempted, whose principles like those of the Quakers are antibellicose and who will reemigrate if unsuccessful in their appeal.

B. *Timothy C. Smith to U.S. Department of State, No. 114, July 22, 1871.*

Source:

Ibid., Despatches, Odessa, Vol. 5. National Archives.

In my despatch, No. 103, mention was made of the "Mennonite" Colonists of Russia, and the probability, in case of refusal on the part of the Imperial Government to grant them exemption from military service required by the general application of the new law, of their emigration to America. I have lately received a visit from Mr. Jansen, of Berdiansk by the Sea of Azoff, one of the foremost of them as to property and intelligence, who represents that the Russian Government hesitates, evades a direct answer to their petition and, in his opinion, does not intend to exempt them from military service. He informs me that there are thirty thousand families of them, numbering an hundred and fifty thousand souls.

They occupy over two hundred thousand acres of land and have ninety villages; fifty of which are in the valley of Moloshnia or Milk River, which flows into the sea not far from Berdiansk, and forty in that of the Dnieper between Kherson and Ekaterinoslaff. He assures me (and our consular agent at Rostoff Mr. Martin, who knows him and many of them, confirms his declaration) that they are an industrious, quiet, law abiding people, frugal, simple in their habits and are like the Quakers opposed to war and strife from religious principle and, therefore, can not conscientiously enter the military or naval service.

Mr. Jansen thinks that one tenth of their number would soon emigrate to the United States if assured beforehand of respect on the part of the Government for their religious belief on the military service question. He thinks that a much larger number would afterwards emigrate when they should receive favorable reports from the pioneers.

Few among them have any knowledge of America except that it is a great country beyond the seas, and he would be glad to obtain pamphlets, books or papers, in the German language, descriptive of the soil, climate, and general attractiveness of American life, for free distribution among them.

There are, already, many of their religious faith in Lancaster, Buck and Montgomery counties, Penn.; near Hagerstown, Md.; in the Shenandoah Valley, in Virginia; in Wayne, Holmes, Logan and other counties of Ohio; in Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, and Missouri.

I have no doubt but that circular letters from some of them, in the German language addressed to their religious brethren everywhere in Europe would bring in an abundant harvest of hard working faithful emigrants. Mr. Jansen would be glad to know whether they could obtain large tracts of land in one or several places by themselves, and whether as free homesteads or by purchases, at the established government rate, and in general what encouragement could offer them were they to emigrate.

C. *Timothy Smith to Department of State, No. 121, Jan. 6, 1872.*

Source:

Ibid., Despatches, Odessa, Vol. 5. National Archives.

A new military levy of six in a thousand inhabitants has been decreed for the year 1872 to be completed by the middle of February (1st of March). A new feature of this levy is that a money equivalent or substitute may be furnished and exemption secured by paying the sum of eight hundred Roubles.

There is not much doubt that this exemption clause has been inserted for the reconciliation of the German Colonists, a considerable portion of whom especially the Mennonites are, on principle, opposed to military service.

What the effect will be on their purpose of reemigration is not yet certain.

D. *Eugene Schuyler U.S. Legation, St. Petersburgh, to Hamilton Fish, No. 168, March 30, 1872.*

Source:

Ibid., Despatches, Russia, Vol. 24. National Archives.

I have the honor to enclose you a copy of a letter I have received from Mr. Smith, the Consul at Odessa, on the subject of the contem-

plated emigration of the Mennonite colonies in the South of Russia to America, and also a copy of my answer thereto.

The Mennonites first came to Russia from Prussia in 1789 in answer to an invitation of Catherine II who gave them land, means with which to establish themselves and temporary relief from taxes and contributions, and promised them religious freedom and exemption for ever from every form of military service. They settled in the South of Russia, in what is now the Government of Taurid, on a tract of land between the rivers Dnieper, Molotschna and Tokmak, and in 1855 numbered some 17,000 souls (male).

The Mennonites are good agriculturists but are particularly noted for their plantations of fruit, forest and mulberry trees. This culture they have followed with great success on steppes that were formerly perfectly bare.

The Mennonites are intelligent, industrious and persevering, and in addition very clean, orderly, moral, temperate and economical. As may be judged from their application they are excessively religious. Petzholdt in his travels in 1855 says, that it is his "firm conviction that Russia can not show any more diligent and more useful citizens." There are schools in every village and education is universal amongst them.

The details of the Law of Universal Compulsory Military Service have not yet been decided on, but it is not proposed to exempt any individuals or classes of the community from its operation.

I do not think it would be possible to find in Europe any better emigrant than these Mennonites, and should the whole colony go to the United States they would rapidly develop into good and useful citizens.

As I have stated in my letter to Mr. Smith, it is a crime for Russian subjects to emigrate, and a crime to induce them to emigrate without permission. If therefore it is thought desirable that these people should go to the United States, it will probably be necessary for our Government to assist them in obtaining from the Imperial authorities the requisite permission to emigrate. I desire also to call your attention to the question of the Mennonites as to whether any aid in money can be given them for their expenses.

A petition similar to that given to Mr. Smith was presented by the Mennonites to the British Consul at Berdiansk, and was by him referred to the Foreign Office. The papers have been sent to the Ambassador here, and a reference has also been made to the Governor-General of Canada. It is not supposed that any grants of land can be made to the colonists.

It is believed here that the Russian Government will not object to the emigration of the Mennonites, but will insist on their restoring the lands with which they were endowed and on their paying taxes in advance for a certain number of years. I shall take the earliest opportunity to ascertain the disposition of the Government and will communicate to you at once any information I received. Meanwhile I shall be glad to know the opinion of our Government on this matter and to receive your instructions.

Enclosure 1, with despatch 168, March 7/19, 1872, Odessa.

Timothy C. Smith to A. G. Curtice, U. S. Minister.

I have lately received a petition in the German language signed by thirty-two prominent members of the German community near Berdiansk begging me to refer to higher authority certain questions respecting their proposal to emigrate to America. They state in their

petition that they are heads of families connected by family and fellowship with about one hundred colonies numbering altogether some hundred and fifty thousand souls who are known by their religious views as **"Mennonites".**

To avoid military service which is to them (as to the society of Quakers) incompatible with religious principle they propose to seek new homes in America.

As they are divided in opinion whether to choose the United States or Canada for their new country they have presented (they say) the same petition to the British Consul.

By the new regulations of their country they state that they would be liable to military service after ten years.

The questions are as follows:

1st May our community obtain in the United States for ourselves and our posterity entire exemption from military service, **direct** or **indirect** according to our principle and belief in the Word of God?

2nd May emigrants to the United States hope to receive a piece of land either as a gift or at a low price and in case of need reckon on an advance or loan of money from the Government?

Though their present condition is prosperous, a general emigration would occasion losses in their land and houses and some would be left almost without means, and by their brotherly relations one toward another, emigration would have to be made possible also for the poor.

3rd For the sake of obtaining a satisfactory encouragement and assurances on the foregoing points as also for agreeing upon their peace and terms of settlement would it be adviseable to send (in advance of emigrating) a delegation to Washington to confer directly with the Government?

In accordance with their wish I refer the substance of their petition to Your Excellency and will communicate to them your reply.

The Mennonites are known to be very honest, industrious and exemplary people, I believe, and, no doubt, if once established in the United States they would make themselves and the country the better. Enclosure No. 2, with despatch No. 168, March 29, 1872. St. Petersburg. Mr. Schuyler to Timothy C. Smith, U. S. Consul.

In Mr. Curtice's absence I received your letter of the 7/19 with regard to the proposed emigration of Mennonites, and will answer their questions as well as I can.

1st Compulsory military service does not exist in the United States. Once only in the History of the United States was conscription resorted to, and the results of the measure were such as to render it highly improbable that recourse will again be had to enforced enlistment. Even then it was always possible to avoid service by furnishing a substitute.

2nd By the homestead laws of the United States, every actual settler, who has declared his intention of becoming a citizen, has a right to receive 160 acres (56 desiatines) of land. Besides this, land can always be purchased from the Government or from Railway companies at very cheap rates. The standard Government price is $1.25 per acre.

The Northern Pacific Railway (among others) offers land at long credit and cheap rates, and furnishes work to emigrants. It will, I believe, also assist colonies in emigrating at reduced rates.

Possibly, in consideration of the large number of the colony, Congress might be induced to afford them some aid in going to the United

States; or perhaps some of the Western States that invite settlers might do so. That however is a question to be decided in America.

3rd It would do no harm, and might be of great advantage, if the Mennonites were to send a small delegation to America to see what could be done, and to select a site for the colony.

I shall at once bring the subject to the notice of the Government, and will send you any information or instructions I may receive on the subject.

You may communicate this information to the Mennonites, but I would suggest to you to be a little cautious, as it is a crime for a Russian subject to emigrate without the permission of the Government, and it is also a crime to induce them to emigrate. In case therefore the Mennonites decide to go to America, it will probably be necessary to have some diplomatic negotiations to obtain for them the requisite permission.

I should be glad to have some more detailed statements of the numbers and condition of these Mennonites. All the authorities that I can consult here fix their number at less that 40,000. Will you please send me a copy of their petiton. There are some Mennonites and kindred religious sects in Pennsylvania, who might, if addressed, take an interest in their co-religionists in Russia.

III. Report by a Member of the Minnesota Board of Immigration

A. *Official Report of the Hon. William Seeger to the Hon. Horace Austin, Governor of Minnesota, on Russo-German Immigration, St. Paul, Dec. 20, 1873.*

Source:

Reprinted from the *St. Paul Daily Press* of January 4, 1874. For an account of William Seeger and his relation to the Russian Mennonite immigration to Minnesota, see Ferdinand P. Schultz, *The Settlement of German Mennonites from Russia at Mountain Lake, Minnesota,* (Minneapolis, 1938), pp. 27-39.

To His Excellency, Horace Austin, Governor of the State of Minnesota:

SIR:—In compliance with your request, I have devoted my time and services during the last summer and fall to the important business of immigration in general, and especially to that of the German-Russian Mennonites, and have now the honor to report.

Along about the first days of June there arrived here a delegation of German-Russo Mennonites, the said delegation consisting of twelve from Russia, one from Prussia, and one from Canada, who were instructed by their constituents living in several colonies of Southern Russia and Eastern Prussia, numbering about sixty thousand people, to visit and examine the Western States and Territories of this country, as also Canada and Manitoba, and report to them the climate, soil, agricultural inducements, etc., and after so doing to recommend, what, in their judgment would be the most desirable and promising location, whereto they could immigrate and enjoy the blessings of religious and political liberty, which are now denied them in their present homes.

The N. P., St. Paul & Pacific and St. Paul & Sioux City railroads were kind enough to offer free passes over their respective lines. I therefore went with them over these thoroughfares, after they had paid a short visit to Manitoba and examined the lands in Dakota Territory west of Fargo. They found, however, both these districts too far north for their wishes;

appreciating, however, the lands on both the St. Paul & Pacific and St. Paul & Sioux City railroads, making at the same time commendatory notes on several points on these roads.

In conformity with their instructions, they proceeded to Iowa and Nebraska, whither I accompanied them being anxious to see and compare these States for my own information, and to observe what inducements they held out to the Mennonites, if any. I found that both States had made great progress during an absence of seventeen years, and I took occasion to make some interesting notes of their methods of inviting and securing immigration. The Mennonite agents during this trip gave their preference to Minnesota, notwithstanding our colder winters; proceeding thence to Kansas, and finally returned to their homes in Russia and Prussia during the month of August last, promising to inform me of the decision consequent upon their report.

Since that time until now, I have kept up a regular correspondence with the leading Mennonites in Russia and Prussia, advising them from time to time of all offers of small or large tracts of lands, other chances offering for settlement, etc., and all movements, political and social made in their behalf.

About the 20th of November I received the first answer from their Bishop, L. Sudermann, in Berdjansk, on the Azof Sea, which I have the honor to annex hereto. He writes quite diplomatically that he and his associates could not assume the great responsibility to recommend any one single State in particular for the immigration of his brethren, for some were as much afraid of the Northern as of the Southern climate, but that they were well pleased with Minnesota, and the cordial reception extended the Mennonite representatives; that immigration depended very much upon the practical decision and settlement of a party of thirty-five families of Mennonites, who had left Russia for good, and who would meet them on their way to the American shores.

This party belongs to a society of nearly five hundred families, who twelve years ago, just after the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, left the Russian Crown colonies on the sea of Azof and went to the northeastern coast of the Crimean peninsula, and having there bought wild prairie land at about one dollar per acre, settled upon and improved it, until recently selling it, they immigrated to the United States to seek a new and more hospitable home.

These People have proved themselves possessed of so high a degree of energy and public spiritedness that they entitle themselves to our warmest sympathy and active support.

They went first to Elkhart, Ind., where lives a congregation of about 600 German Mennonites, who settled there a number of years ago from Pennsylvania. As soon as I learned of their arrival I went thither, but found them almost decided to go to Kansas, where two of them had been induced to buy lands. I succeeded, however, in persuading them to send a deputation of Mennonites to go with me to Minnesota and to explore this State, which we did thoroughly and to their satisfaction; but, nevertheless after their return to Indiana they were induced by land agents to go to Yankton, Southern Dakota Territory, and to settle there. Much as I felt disappointed after this, I did not give up the contest, but proceeded to Yankton, and had a long conference with them convincing most of them of the greater advantages, natural and otherwise, held out by our own State. I succeeded in bringing back twenty families to Minnesota, who have since settled at Mountain Lake, Cottonwood county. These have purchased im-

proved farms, railroad lands and government claims. Steps have been taken to erect a church at the railroad station next spring, and I have good reason to believe that ere that time the remaining ten or twelve families from Yankton, D. T., will rejoin this embryo colony at Mountain Lake. There can be no doubt that this chapter will form a bright leaf in the history of the development of our State, since by their scrutinizing and careful observation of all the Western States, not only will their compatriots in Russia and Prussia look favorably and act intelligently in watching the growth of the seed thus limitedly auspiciously sown, but the men of other colonies and organizations scattered without number over Europe will receive an impetus to immigrate, which must feel to them like a welcome, ere they have learned to know us.

I congratulate Minnesota on the present acquisition, for of such people are great States made.

As a proof of the magnitude and importance of the immigration expected from Russia, which was formerly almost hermetically closed, I may mention the fact of a German-Russo colony, which settled last summer in Columbus, Nebraska, and Yankton, D. T., which latter arrived in September last, numbering about 180 families, with an aggregate cash capital of $500,000. All the German colonists, (about 700,000 souls,) and the Mennonites in Russia, (about 60,000) were heretofore exempt from military draft. This privilege has been recently repealed, and they are now subjected to seven years' unremitting and regular military duty, receiving $3 per annum for each private, who besides must serve 18 years more in the reserve. No wonder, therefore, that they seek for other homes.

The Russian government has allowed them to sell their property, and to emigrate during the next ten years, and it is fair to estimate that during this season a very large exodus will take place, which must mainly go to the United States. Minnesota with proper efforts can and must have a large share of it. These efforts should be well directed, and a wise policy teaches us to learn from our competing neighbors.

Having been a member of the State Board of Immigration for the last five years, and being thoroughly acquainted with the wishes and wants of, at least, a great portion of the immigrants, and also of the means to be adopted to hold them within our State, I would respectfully recommend the reorganization of the State board, composed of the Governor, Auditor, Secretary and Treasurer of the State. This Board to appoint a Commissioner of Immigration, whose duty it should be to carry out the adopted plan of the Board and report monthly. He should keep an office supplied with maps, statistics, reports of geological surveys, etc., well situated, and easily accessible to all persons who ask for information and advice every day; which advice and information he must give gratis. He should further take care of the immigrants and their effects, distribute the immigration pamphlets if they are to be continued, keep up all the necessary correspondence at least in English, German and Scandinavian, and keep on file all the received letters and inquiries. He should, in fact, devote himself and his energies solely and conscientiously to this business, and receive therefor a proper compensation from the State.

An adequate and well-situated immigrant house should be provided for (perhaps rented) close at the passenger depots and steamboat landings, furnished with stoves, cooking utensils, fuel, bedsteads and mattresses, where every immigrant might be accommodated if so desired by them gratis with shelter for a few days until he has chosen his place of destiny, and

been put on the best and cheapest road to it; a separate large room for baggage may also be necessary.

The leading Minnesota railroad companies should be made aware of the fact that the Illinois Central and Chicago & North-Western railroad companies have made arrangements with the Union Pacific and the Southern Dakota railroad to sell through tickets from New York via Chicago and Sioux City to Omaha City or to Yankton, to immigrants at the port of Hamburg, and that they should make like arrangements for the sale of through tickets from New York via Chicago to St. Paul, as otherwise Minnesota would lose a great many immigrants.

Here I am glad to mention that the Mennonites have already resolved to send one of their young men to New York who has traveled in their interest in the United States and who has acquired a sufficient knowledge of the English language to take care of his brethren expected to arrive there from Europe.

The importance of this Russo-German immigration cannot be exaggerated, and is so much more of moment to this State, as the Scandinavian immigration is about to fall off very considerably by exhausting of the native population, and the rulers of the German Empire begin to put every obstacle in the way of the emigration of their people; besides the Russo-German colonist finds here in Minnesota a more congenial climate and mode of agriculture than in more southern States. Every dollar spent judiciously for this purpose will bring a rich harvest, and accelerate the quick and healthy development of our western lands. I hope, therefore, your Excellency will share this same opinion, and recommend to our next legislature a generous and sufficient appropriation for the purpose of promoting and protecting immigration.

All of which is hereby respectfully submitted to your consideration.

I remain Your Excellency's
most Obedient Servant
WILLIAM SEEGER

ST. PAUL, Dec. 20, 1873.

IV. Transportation and Settlement Contracts

A. *Contract between the Northern Pacific Railroad Company and the Mennonite Deputation, August 20, 1873.*

Source:

Original deposited in the Mennonite Church Archives, Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College.

Northern Pacific Railroad Co.
Land Department
New York, August 20, 1873

To the Deputation Consisting of:

W. Ewert, Leonhard Sudermann, Jakob Buller, Andreas Schraag, Paul Tschetter, Tobias Unruh, Lorenz Tschetter,
Deputies of the Prussian and Russian Mennonite Communities.

Gentlemen:

As a result of recent negotiations relative to the purchase and settlement by the Mennonite Communities which you represent, of certain lands of this company, situated on the line of the Northern Pacific Railroad in Dakota Territory, and as a reply to your letter of inquiry dated August 20, 1873, a copy of which is hereto attached, the Northern Pacific Railroad

Company by its President and the Chairman of its Land Committee respectfully submit the following proposition:

1. This company will at your request reserve from sale until March 1, 1874, all its lands on both sides of the Railroad in Dakota territory and within fifty miles of the Red River provided the reservation is made with the distinct understanding that on or before the first day of March 1874 the Mennonite Committee shall notify the company whether they will settle on the line of the Northern Pacific Railroad,—if so, how many townships of land within the above named fifty mile reservation they will select and endeavor to settle, and this selection shall be made before July 1, 1874, so that the townships within the fifty mile limit which are not wanted by these Mennonites may then be released from reservation.

2. The company excludes and excepts from this reservation the site of Fargo on the Red River, also the company's right of way granted by the United States Government, and such other land adjacent to the track and stations as may be needed by the company itself for its own proper purposes.

3. The lands finally selected by the committee shall be held in reserve for them by the company for five years from July 1, 1874, provided that the sales of land shall average 10 per cent of the whole each year.

4. The price of the lands reserved shall average three dollars per acre, payable in the United States currency or in Northern Pacific Mortgage Bonds without premium.

5. The communities shall have the option at the expiration of the five years of returning to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company all unsold lands, provided that at least fifty per cent of all the reserved lands shall have been sold, and provided, also, that in case the land returned to the Company shall under the company's regular appraisement fall below three dollars per acre in value, then the lands actually taken by the communities shall be accounted for at enough more than three dollars per acre to enable the Company to realize three dollars per acre for the entire reservation. That is, if at the end of five years the communities should wish to return to the Company one fifth of the reserved lands and that fifth should on examination prove to have an appraised value of $2.50 per acre then the four fifths of the whole reservation kept by the communities would have to be accounted for to the Company at $3.125 per acre. But the Company believes this contingency will never arise, and that at the end of five years all the lands of the reservation will have so advanced in value that the communities will greatly prefer to take all remaining land at the average price of $3.00 per acre.

6. In case at the end of five years the communities shall choose not to return unsold lands to the Company they shall be allowed two years additional time in which to purchase from the Company at three dollars per acre, provided that at least one half of the remaining lands shall be purchased within two years from the expiration of the five years first named.

7. The lands may be fully paid for at the time of the purchase, or at the option of the purchaser on the credit terms of the company as follows:

Payment for all lands may be made:
10 per cent in cash,—
10 per cent in 1 year
10 per cent in 2 years
10 per cent in 3 years

15 per cent in 4 years
15 per cent in 5 years
15 per cent in 6 years
15 per cent in 7 years

The rate of interest in the deferred payment will be seven per cent per annum, payable annually.

In the case of those colonists who have no means the time for making the several yearly payments for land may be extended one year respectively from the dates as given above, provided that in such cases the Committee shall guarantee the payment of principal and interest.

8. The communities shall be allowed to so select the lands to be reserved that one of each four townships shall be traversed by the Railroad.

9. The Company will locate all necessary stations at the convenient points in the several townships traversed by the road, due regard being had for the wishes and shipping interests of the colonists.

10. In so far as the company can properly influence such matters, it guarantees to the colonists absolute control and ownership after purchase of the town, village and city sites that may be located and occupied by them, free from the interference or control of any town-site company or other similar organization.

So far as the towns and villages shall be located on lands to be purchased from the Railroad Company this guarantee is absolute but the Company does not control the Government lands within the proposed reservation. As the colonists can probably in all cases place their towns on lands bought from the Railroad Company no difficulty or interference from outside parties need be apprehended. The Railroad Company will not permit any organization outside of the Mennonite Communities to purchase Company lands and lay out towns thereon within the limits of the colony reservation during the existence of the agreement of which this proposition is to be the basis.

11. The Company will provide free of cost and convey by deed to the communities or to their chosen trustees a suitable lot or piece of ground on which to build each church and school house that shall be erected by the colonists on lands then belonging to the Company during the first five years following March 1, 1874, and the Company will at all times and in all proper ways cordially cooperate with the colonists in promoting the interests of education, morality and good order, within the limits of their reservation.

12. The Company will provide for the Colonists on the line of the road within the townships selected a sufficient number of suitably erected and properly furnished reception houses free of charge, and at the end of three years the colonists shall have the option of buying such reception house buildings at cost.

13. During the first three years following March 1, 1874, the Company will give the colonists the benefit of rebating or reduction of ten per cent from the regular freight tariff of the Northern Pacific Railroad for the time being on all freight of every kind transported over the Northern Pacific Railroad to the colony stations for the colonists.

14. The Company will aid the colonists in procuring cheap fuel by transporting the same at reduced rates of freight and will use its best efforts to keep the costs of fuel to the colonists permanently low. The Company will deliver Dakota coal at the colony stations at the lowest possible rates. A specific price for the coal cannot be given at present

for the reason that the coal mines known to exist on the route of the Northern Pacific Railroad in Central Dakota are not yet opened and the cost of mining and delivery on board cars is not known. The mines are to be developed immediately, and definite prices will soon be given.

15. The Company will supervise the reception of the colonists on their arrival from Europe and their comfortable conduct to the colony stations. It will also provide transportation for the colonists and their goods at the lowest attainable rates between New York and Dakota.

16. The Railroad fare of the colonists from St. Paul or Duluth to the station nearest their land shall be paid in cash. The Northern Pacific Railroad will issue to the colonists coupons or certificates for an amount equal to the fare thus paid by each and these coupons or certificates shall be available in bonds of the Mennonite colonists in payment for lands bought by them from the Company.

17. The Company will grant free season passes over its road to a number of not exceeding six of the Mennonites to be named by the communities during the period of three years from July 1, 1874.

18. The Company when called upon will render any aid in its power to the Mennonites in promoting any legal or just measure for securing to the colonists the government lands within their reservation.[121]

19. The Company is willing as requested by you to recognize the Mr. M. S. Hiller as the agent of the Mennonites, through whom negotiations may be conducted to such extent and so long as shall be mutually agreeable.

You and the people you represent can rely on the carrying out in good faith of every condition made in this proposition, which is, of course, based upon assurance and understanding that you and your colleagues of the Deputation are the authorized representatives of the Mennonite Communities generally of Russia and Prussia and that the contemplated emigration will embrace a great portion of such communities.

We are very respectfully and sincerely yours,

Signed by: W. Cass
President of Northern Pacific Railroad Company
Frederick Billings
Chairman of the Land Committee

B. *Agreement between the Inman Line and the Erie Railroad Company and the Mennonite Board of Guardians, February 27, 1874.*

Source:

Original deposited in the Mennonite Church Archives, Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College.

Confidential. February 27, 1874.

(1) The Inman Line agree to provide for the transportation of said emigrants from Hamburg to New York, via Hull and Liverpool.

(2) The Erie Railway Company agree to transport said emigrants from New York to the following named places in the United States, Atchison, Kansas; Omaha, Nebraska; Sioux City, Iowa; and St. Paul, Minnesota.

(3) The joint through fare of the Inman Line and Erie Railway for said emigrants shall be as follows:

From	Hamburg	to	Atchison	$42.00
"	"	"	Omaha	41.00
"	"	"	Sioux City	42.00
"	"	"	St. Paul	41.00

Children between 5 and 12 years half fare, children between 1 and 5 years half fare from Hamburg to New York, and free from New York to Atchison, Omaha, Sioux City and St. Paul. Infants under one year free for entire distance. 20 cubic feet of baggage free to each adult from Hamburg to New York and 150 pounds of baggage free on the Erie Railway.

(4) The Inman Line agree to forward said people from Hamburg to New York without delay and while on the passage shall provide good and wholesome food which shall be served three times daily. Milk to be furnished as required for women and children; and hot water to be furnished to all passengers wherever required to make tea or coffee. Sufficient room shall be reserved aboard ship for all passengers so as to avoid any discomfort by crowding. There shall be one or more German stewards aboard each vessel who can communicate with passengers in their own language.

(5) The Mennonite Board of Guardians will appoint one person as their agent in Hamburg whose business it shall be to receive the Mennonites on their arrival in Hamburg and impart to them all necessary information about the journey and to furnish them with the necessary orders for passengers agreed upon with the Inman Line and the Erie Railway. The Inman Line agrees to pay said agent the sum of fifty dollars gold per month for his services.

(6) The Inman Line will make reduction of one third from the regular fare for any Mennonites who may wish to take cabin or intermediate passage.

(7) The Erie Railway Company agree that said emigrants on their arrival at New York shall be promptly forwarded to their destination on emigrant express trains and that there shall be no unnecessary changes of cars on the road. A sufficient number of cars shall be attached to each train so that every passenger shall be comfortably seated. The cars shall be roomy, well lighted and ventilated, supplied with ice water, stoves in winter, cushioned seats, and water closets. The trains shall be stopped at suitable places for meals, and ample time will be allowed for this purpose. The meals and provisions shall be furnished at reasonable rates. Whenever there is a large party of emigrants going west together, a leader will be furnished by the M. B. G. who shall accompany the party to their destination. The Erie Railway Company will also arrange so that all who wish to do so may stop over at places on the route to see their friends, and resume their journey at pleasure.

(8) In consideration of the above liberal arrangement the M. B. G. cordially agree to use their entire influence to have all of said Mennonites choose the said Inman Line and Erie Railway on their route from Europe to their new homes in the United States and said board further agree that whenever their people are ready from time to time to start from Hamburg, said Board shall deposit with the Inman Line in New York the amount necessary to pay their through fares, and the Inman Line shall thereupon issue to said board (or their correspondent in Hamburg) a corresponding number of through certificates.

The M. B. G. have every reason to believe that about two thousand families of Mennonites will come from Europe during the year of this contract.

The agreement shall be binding for one year and is renewable for two or three years.

Signed: G. Nicholson (Inman Lines)
Abbot (Erie Railroad Company)
Jacob Schantz, B. Warkentin (M. B. G.)

V. Private Correspondence Records

A. *Letter from Peter Wienss, Reinland, Manitoba, to J. Y. Shantz, Berlin (Kitchener) Ontario, dated February* 4, 1877.

Source:

John F. Funk Collection, Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College.

Einen herzlichen Gruß zuvor. Deinen lieben Brief und den Wechsel haben wir erhalten und Dir auch allsogleich berichtet . . . und wir die Gemeinde zusammenberufen wollten und mit ihnen berathen, ob sie wollen ihr Land euch verschreiben . . . und die Gemeinde eingewilligt hat, ihr Land euch zu verschreiben, so wie Du es verlangst und berichten Dich hiermit dieses. . . .

Nun berichten wir Dir, daß wir unser Land noch nicht verschrieben haben bei der Regierung, und wissen nun nicht, wie es thun wird, wenn ihr nun das Land auf euch verschreiben wollt, ob dieses auch ein Hindernis dazu ist, oder ob wir noch erst werden warten? müssen das Land verschreiben, und dazu fehlt uns denn Geld, und wie Du uns berichtest durch Winkler, daß war nur 24000 Daler bekommen sollen.

Wie es denn damit werden wird, über 9 tausend nimmst Du, so wie ich verstehe, von die 24000 all ab. 1000 Säcke Mehl haben wir jetzt all wieder gekauft, welches 3000 Daler kosten, und bis zur Beendigung der Saatzeit brauchen wir noch für 3000 Daler, und von der Saatzeit bis zur Ernte noch für 10000 Daler, hieraus lieber Bruder kannst Du sehen wie weit dieses Geld reicht, und blos für Mehl.

Nun fehlen aber noch vieler Leute Vieh, Wagen, Pflüge und Kartoffeln zur Saat, und die Leute, die das Ueberfahrtsgeld für die Armen bezahlt haben und ihnen versprachen ist auszuzahlen und nicht bekommen, und jetzt einige ganz entblößt von Gelde sind, und der Gemeinde anheimfallen bekommen noch nichts und wie wird es mit diesen werden, und wenn wir nun nicht mehr Geld bekommen so können wir auch nicht so vollständig ackern.

Die noch ein etwas Vieh haben, und die keins haben, können gar nicht ackern, und wo werden diese dann Nahrung hernehmen? Muß die Gemeine nicht noch ferner für sie Nahrung kaufen, und bleiben eine Last der Gemeine. Hätten sie Vieh könnten sie selbst ihren Acker bestellen, und sich Nahrung verschaffen und nun zuletzt diese Leute die nicht ackern können sind das mehrste schuldig.

Nun kommt aber die Abzahlung. Wo sollen sie es hernehmen oder wo nimmt es die Gemeine her? Wenn alle Glieder schwach und nicht so wirken können, daß sie etwas mehr erübrigen können zum abzahlen, also wenn wir nicht noch mit mehr Geld geholfen werden, sehen wir unsern Untergang entgegen und fallen euch und der Regierung immer mehr zur Last.

Wenn wir aber mehr Geld bekommen so können wir den Acker stärker benutzen und können mit Freuden sehen, daß wenn der Herr uns gnädig ist wir abzahlen können, und uns nähren, und euch und der Regierung nicht mehr zur Last werden, sondern . . . zur Freude wenn wir so schönes Getreide und alles

bekommen und unsre Schulden abzahlen können. . . . Einige haben all für Getreide sich Lebensmittel gekauft, die Gemeine hat selbst von den Armen all über 600 buschel Getreide genommen für Mehl um für die andern Saatgetreide zu haben.

Hieraus lieber Bruder kannst Du unsre Lage schildern, und bitten Dir nochmals aus wahrer herzlicher Christlicher Bruderliebe: Helfet uns noch mit 12,000 Daler, daß unsre Noth gestillet wird und wir und ihr mit Freuden der Zukunft entgegensehen können. Denn denke Dir selbst Du hast nun ein bischen Geld. Dein Bruder aber hat nichts. Nun aber willst Du Deinen Bruder nicht hungern lassen und gibst noch von dem Deinigen. Nun werdet ihr alle beide fort, aber Dein Geld wird alle und müsset zuletzt alle beide verhungern, wenn nicht anderwärts Hilfe kommt, und gerade so geht es unsre Gemeine. Die Starken haben das Letzte hingegeben und nun haben sie auch nichts und müssen sterben, und ihr werdet mit fortgerissen wenn nicht Hilfe ist. Wenn wir und ihr aber von Anfang an stark mithelfen so bleiben wir alle behalten.

Wenn es möglich ist, sende uns so geschwind als möglich Geld denn wir brauchen es sehr nöthig, denn wir sind alle wieder ein ganz Teil schuldig geworden, und wenn wir nicht bezahlen können so kostet es uns hohe Zinsen.

Noch fragen wir dich an, wie es steht, wenn noch mehr Arme kommen, ob für die ferner das Ueberfahrts-Geld bezahlt wird von euch und sie auch noch hier geholfen werden von euch? Wenn dieses nicht der Fall ist, so bitten wir Dich nach Rußland und auch hierher zu berichten, daß keine Arme mehr kommen sollen bis wieder geholfen wird, denn wenn ihr von dort nicht helfet, wir können nicht, denn wir sind zu schwach.

Dieses, lieber Bruder, sollte ich Dir im Auftrage der Gemeine berichten, und die ganze Gemeine danket Dir und die andern für die Liebe die ihr uns erzeiget, und bitten lasset nicht ab zu helfen, sondern helfet daß wir alle stark werden, denn auch der liebe Heiland sagt, lasset uns Guthes thun und nicht müde werden, denn zu seiner Zeit werden wir auch ernten ohne aufhören, und wer beharret bis ans Ende der wird selig.

Die Gemeinde grüßet Dich wie alle andern vielmal, und ich größe Dich vielmahl herzlich mit dem Friedes-Grüße Jesu. Friede seit mit euch und bitte noch dem Dreimal Heiligen Gott der möchte dieses geringe aber wohlgemeinte Schreiben segnen und den Heiligen Geist schenken, dieses Schreiben recht zu verstehen, daß ihr es nicht übel nehmen möchtet und sollten etwa Fehler sein unsrer Unvollkommenheit anrechnen und zugute halten und uns verzeihen, Amen. Dein Dich stets liebender Bruder in Christo, Peter Wienß.

[**Editorial Note:** The Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College possesses a copy of the draft of the proposed mortgage referred to in the preceding letter. The draft mentions as the sum of the mortgage loan $29,000 bearing 6 per cent interest, loaned by the following persons, resident in Ontario: Jacob Y. Schantz of Berlin, Philip Wismer of Lincoln County, Samuel Reeser of York County, John Koch of York County, Henry Brubacher of Waterloo County, and Elias Eby of Waterloo County. The draft is not signed but is dated December 28, 1876. E. C.]

B. *Heinrich Wiebe, member of the* 1873 *Mennonite Deputation of Twelve, preacher of the Bergthal congregation in Manitoba, thanks the Ontario Mennonites for assistance during immigration and settlement.*

Source:

Herold der Wahrheit, Elkhart, Indiana, April 1, 1894, pp. 105-106.

Gretna, Manitoba, March 5, 1894.

Obwohl ich schon lange, theils aus eigenem Antrieb, theils auf Aufforderung anderer hin, im Vornehmen war, Euch Brüdern in Ontario durch den

„Herold der Wahrheit" einen herzlichen Dank abzustatten für Eure Opferwilligkeit und Hilfe, die Ihr uns bei unserer Einwanderung habt zu theil werden lassen, so habe ich es doch bis heute unterlassen und versäumt mich dieser Dankespflicht zu entledigen. Eine Entschuldigung kann ich dafür kaum angeben. . . .

Ihr werdet schon wohl oft gedacht haben, so lange die Brüder in Manitoba Noth und Hunger spürten, wußten sie uns mit ihrer Bettelei zu finden, nachdem sie aber von uns sind gespeist worden, ziehen sie sich zurück. . . . Um das Versäumte . . . gutzumachen und Euch den Beweis zu liefern, daß wir Euch und Eure Liebesthat noch nicht so ganz vergessen haben, seien diese Zeilen an Euch gerichtet.

Ja, Brüder, die Verhältnisse haben sich bei uns schon sehr verändert. Die bange Brodfrage, die uns im Jahre 1874 und 1875 mit Besorgnis erfüllte, ist heute nicht mehr vorhanden. An Stelle des damaligen Mangels ist heute Ueberfluß getreten. . . . Wer heute in unserer Verhältnisse hineinschaut, wird sich keine Vorstellung machen können, wie uns damals die Nahrungssorgen drückten, außer er ist dabei gewesen. Darum müssen wir mit David im 118. Psalm sprechen: „Danket dem Herrn, denn er ist sehr freundlich und seine Güte währet ewiglich."

War es nicht, geliebte Brüder, die gütige Hand unseres Gottes, die uns aus dem Lande, wo wir in unserem Glauben bedrängt wurden in dieses Land der Freiheit führte und hier uns durch alle Noth und Schwierigkeit half? War nicht er es, der uns Eure Herzen geneigt und Euch willig gemacht hatte uns zu helfen? . . . Ihr seid uns bei unserer Einwanderung mit Rat und Tat zur Seite gestanden und habt uns in jener bedrängten Zeit, als Heuschreckensschwärme unsere erste Ernte vernichteten und wir rathlos dastanden, wieder Eure hilfreiche Hand entgegengestreckt. Was wäre aus uns geworden, wenn Ihr uns nicht geholfen hättet? Wir wären sicherlich nicht hier. . . . Höchstwahrscheinlich in alle vier Winde zerstreut, und viele unserer jungen Leute, die uns jetzt zu schönen Hoffnungen berechtigen, wären vielleicht als elende Tramps verkommen.

Euch, nächst Gott, haben wird es zu verdanken, daß wir beieinander bleiben und ein gutes Fortkommen in natürlicher Hinsicht finden konnten. Ja zu innigem Dank zu Gott werde ich bewogen, wenn ich daran denke, wie er uns im Zeitlichen so gesegnet hat, daß wir Eure Gelder, die wir in den Jahre 1874 und 1875 von Euch borgten, im Jahre 1885 und 1886 wieder abzahlen konnten, eine Summe, welche sich, wenn ich recht bin, auf ca. $100,000 belief. Wie froh fühle ich trotz mancher Sorge und trotz mancher sauren Arbeit, die mit dem Zusammenbringen dieses Geldes verbunden gewesen ist, daß der liebe Gott es hat gelingen lassen, daß mein Ehrenwort, welches ich in jener mir sehr bangen Stunde bei Euch Brüdern in Toronto und später noch Br. J. Y. Tschantz allein im Hafen von Collingwood gab, gelöst worden ist. Die Noth war groß und die Zukunft dunkel, aber im Vertrauen auf Gott wagte ich es, Euch die Versicherung zu geben — die Worte werden mir nie aus dem Gedächtnis entschwinden: „Brüder, helft und ich bürge dafür, so Gott will und wir leben, wir zahlen es Euch wieder zurück!" . . .

Wenn ich . . . die Gegenwart mit der Vergangenheit verknüpfe, so muß ich sagen, unser gegenwärtiger Wohlstand ist eigentlich ein Ausfluß von Eurer Mildthätigkeit und Hilfe und unser Hiersein ist nur dadurch möglich geworden, daß Ihr Brüder in Ontario Euch unserer in christlicher Liebe angenommen habt. Hätte es keine Brüder in Ontario gegeben, dann gebe es heute keine Ansiedlung von 10,000 Seelen alten holländischen Ursprungs im fruchtbaren Thale des „rothen Flußes" des Nordens. Ihr seid in Gottes Hand das Mittel dazu geworden und darum sollen Euch diese Zeilen unser aller innigsten Dank aussprechen. . . . Der Herr, der ein reicher Vergelter ist, der wolle einst an jenem großen Tage auch gedenken der That, die Ihr an uns, seinen geringsten

Brüdern, gethan habt. Euch und uns der Gnade Gottes und der Liebe unserer Heilandes empfehlend grüßt Euch. Im Namen Eurer dankbaren Brüder aus Manitoba, Heinrich Wiebe.

C. *A Letter from Peter Jansen to John F. Funk, June 11, 1895.*

The following letter is of interest because of its testimony to the fact that "the first step taken toward the Russian Mennonite immigrations to the United States" was the correspondence between Cornelius Jansen and John F. Funk. Cornelius Jansen (1822-1894) was the father of Peter Jansen, the author of the letter here printed. The biography of Cornelius Jansen, written by Funk, appeared in the *Family Almanac* for 1896, published by Funk at Elkhart, Indiana. Peter Jansen (1852-1923) published his autobiography in 1921 under the title, *Memoirs of Peter Jansen, The Record of a Busy Life. An Autobiography Published by the author, Beatrice, Nebraska,* 1921.

Jansen
Jefferson Co., Nebr.

June 11, 1895

Dear Bro. Funk:

I read with interest your letter to my brother Cornelius at Beatrice, requesting a photo of our dear departed Father, which he has sent you at once. I am glad you intend to place his picture in your Almanac and hope it may be a good likeness.

We would much rather that you should write the article to accompany the picture. I think it would be better than for a member of the family to do so.

I enclose you a few newspaper clippings which will give you all the dates required.

I would call your attention to the fact that the correspondence of Father's with yourself was really the first step taken toward the Mennonite Immigrations to the United States. I recently found some of your letters written to Father in Russia, in 1871 and 72. You know of course that Father was always a friend of the "Old Mennonites" in this country, and the first church we visited was that of dear old Bishop Amos Herr of Lancaster Co., Pennsylvania.

We are having an abundance of rain and prospects are very much improved. Wheat will make half a crop and oats and corn are very fine.

You will also recall our long trip in the North West with yourself and Mrs. Funk in the fall of 1874.

With Christian love to yourself and family, I am

Yours sincerely,
P. Jansen.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES

A Comprehensive Review of Research on the Hutterites 1880-1950

The names of the three outstanding Austrian scholars stand at the beginning of the modern study of Hutterite life and thought. Joseph von Beck (1815-1887), Johann Loserth (1846-1936), and Rudolf Wolkan (d. 1927). They discovered or rediscovered the rich original sources of the Hutterites (their handwritten books), and immediately recognized their tremendous significance far beyond their relevance for a relatively small sectarian movement. During a long industrious life Beck collected an enormous amount of original material in Austrian and Hungarian libraries and archives. Out of this material he composed, somewhat mosaiclike, the original story of this amazing brotherhood. His *Geschichtsbücher der Wiedertäufer in Oesterreich-Ungarn,* Vienna, 1883, with its countless enlightening footnotes, is still a major basis for our knowledge of Hutterite life. To be true, his material was much richer than that utilized in this volume; it also required more historical integration than he was inclined to produce. Thus hundreds of boxes of handwritten transcripts, mainly from Hutterite manuscript books (codices), were left as his estate (*Nachlass*). The task of bringing this material to life fell to Johann Loserth, Professor of Modern European History at the University of Graz, Styria. From 1890 to 1930 this most capable historiographer of the Hutterites brought forth a wealth of books and studies which may be called truly classical.[1] It is to him that we owe most of our knowledge of Hutterite life and thought. Though himself a Catholic, he concentrated with great sympathy and understanding upon these unique people. He combined a very dynamic use of all sources available with a fine intuition. After having utilized most of Beck's material, he turned it over to the Moravian Landesarchiv at Brno (Brünn), now Czecho-Slovakia. This so-called Beck collection (Beck's *Nachlass*) may be called almost exhaustive, including even the most far-fetched source material; unfortunately some of its files are nearly illegible due to Beck's poor penmanship. All transcripts are handwritten.[2]

Rudolf Wolkan, Professor of German Literature at the University of Vienna, was the first European scholar to rediscover the living Hutterites here in America. (John Horsch, who contacted the brethren as early as 1890 or even before, was instrumental in this rediscovery.) Neither Beck nor Loserth (prior to 1908) knew anything about them. Wolkan made his name first known by his *Lieder der Wiedertäufer,* Berlin, 1903, a volume still unsurpassed in genuine enrichment of our knowledge, important not only for Anabaptist hymnology but also for a new, clear-cut distinction between the three main groups of Anabaptists, the Swiss Brethren, the Dutch Mennonites, and the Austrian Hutterites. The unique story of the *Ausbund* was here told for the first time. In 1923, Wolkan published the so-called "grosse" *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder* using a transcript of the original manuscript which Beck thought to be lost, but which actually had been carefully kept by the brethren during all their pilgrimages. The language of this 1923 edition

[1] The article "Loserth" in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* II, 693, contains a fairly complete list of Loserth's studies regarding the Austrian Anabaptists.

[2] Described by Harold S. Bender, in the REVIEW, April, 1949, "Anabaptist Manuscripts in the Archives at Brno, Czechoslovakia."

is somewhat modernized, thus changing the flavor of the original text. In spite of this new and well-prepared publication, Beck's older edition did not become obsolete, due to the extraordinary scholarly apparatus which no researcher ever can do without. Wolkan published also a descriptive book on the Hutterites (*Die Huterer,* Vienna, 1918), in which for the first time the existence of a continuation of the greater chronicle (called "the smaller chronicle") was mentioned. Its author, Johannes Waldner (d. 1824), is named here for the first time, too. A transcript of this smaller chronicle, the *Klein Geschichts Buch,* made in Canada, was on Loserth's desk for many years; economic reasons alone prevented its publication by this master of Anabaptist history. Yet Loserth's last greater paper of 1930 gives an excellent summary of the contents of the new chronicle.[3] From personal talks with Loserth around 1930, I can affirm that he was deeply impressed by the personality of Johannes Waldner, whom he judged to be one of the finest historiographers he had ever read. And yet, Waldner was an unskilled man, a peasant by background.

All these three men worked with love and untiring devotion in this field. It seems almost as if an earnest student, once he has come into contact with this unique religious material, will never give it up completely. Those who studiously delved into these testimonies could not help being fascinated; after a while they became a part of this fellowship of devoted research men. I have hardly met any of them who remained completely indifferent, even if the religious attitude of the brethren appeared strange at first and far from their own ideas.

Beck's collection is still the greatest mine of knowledge to be tapped. In spite of the fact that the transcripts are handwritten only, a microfilming of this treasure of more than one hundred files (with thousands of sheets), would provide American scholars with a permanent stock of original Anabaptist material. It is the intention of the present writer to prepare an exhaustive description of all these manuscript books from which these transcripts were taken. Prior to World War II these codices were kept in European libraries and archives, but now it is feared that quite a few of them might be lost for ever.

Among the historians of the Reformation at the beginning of this century it was primarily Heinrich Böhmer, Professor of Church History at the University of Leipzig, who stimulated a new interest in the hidden story of the Anabaptists. A strangely ambivalent love and dislike drew him to Thomas Müntzer, the Christian revolutionary. Böhmer developed the totally wrong idea that Anabaptism in general had its origin with this remarkable man Müntzer. Accordingly, he instructed the students of his seminar to do their research in this misleading direction. Nevertheless, he aroused the interest of his colleagues for these "stepchildren" of the Reformation, and prompted a number of excellent monographs in this new field of church history.[4] One of his students was Dr. Lydia Müller, whom he had urged to go to Slovakia and Hungary to make firsthand studies of the remnants of the Hutterite colonies and of the manuscripts in the different archives. The results of this research are two books by Dr. Müller, *Der Kommunismus der mährischen Wieder-*

[2] J. Loserth, "Decline and Revival of the Hutterites," REVIEW, April, 1930.

[4] Here is a list of monographs worked out under his guidance: Ecke, *Schwenckfeld und der Gedanke einer apostolischer Reformation,* 1911, Neuser, *Hans Hut,* 1913, Sachsse, *Hubmaier,* 1914, L. Müller, *Der Kommunismus der mährischen Wiedertäufer,* 1928, and A. Lohmann, *Zur geistigen Entwicklung Thomas Müntzers,* 1931.

täufer, Leipzig, 1928, and *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter,* Leipzig, 1938, the first of a planned two-volume edition of Hutterite texts. It is true that there is much bias and slant in these books, mainly in the first one (in this regard Dr. Müller differed much from Loserth and Wolkan), and Mennonite scholars will criticize her for that. Yet much good material has been assembled and digested, valuable for every student of Hutterite lore. The *Glaubenszeugnisse* (Vol. I) is a very fine collection of Hutterite tracts, epistles, and confessional accounts; unfortunately too much had to be presented in a condensed and abbreviated form, which spoils the very meaning of these documents. Thus this volume cannot be called the "standard" edition of this material; yet, up to now it is the only source edition available, and as such much in demand. As I understand, the manuscript of Vol. II was prepared completely by Dr. Müller, who was killed during the war by a bomb, and the manuscript is now in the hands of her nephew, Pastor Ludwig Müller at Würzburg, and will be published soon. A microfilm copy is deposited in the Goshen College Library.

The Verein für Reformationsgeschichte during the 1920's pursued a great plan: every bit of Anabaptist source material, such as mandates of the authorities, records of Anabaptist trials, epistles and other writings of Anabaptist origin, and so on, was to be published in a large series of text volumes. The first volume of this series came out in 1930; it was G. Bossert's *Wiedertäufer im Herzogtum Württemberg* (Leipzig, 1930). It contains an extensive section of Hutterite sources, namely, the complete text of the numerous epistles of the Hutterite brother Paul Glock between 1563 and 1569, taken in full from Beck's collection. It is thus far the largest source publication of Hutterite epistles.

It was in the year 1923 that I myself came in contact with Hutterite manuscript books for the first time, handed over to me by Rudolf Wolkan (Vienna). For the next few years he guided all my work in this new field; it was an unforgettable experience. The result was a paper, "Die Briefe der österreichischen Täufer," published in 1929 in the *Archiv für Reformations-Geschichte,* Band XXVI.[5] This study of the unique epistolary literature of the Hutterites has found fairly wide attention, since it opened a new world of Christian testimonies, hitherto overlooked. The similarity to the epistles of the New Testament is striking. In 1930 and 1931 another large research study of mine was published. "Eine dogmatische Hauptschrift der Hutterischen Täufergemeinschaften in Mähren," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* XXVIII/XXIX. Peter Walpot, the Hutterite Vorsteher in the "golden era" of the brotherhood (1565-1578) was identified as the probable author of this remarkable confessional document. The study of its sources and background was particularly rewarding for a greater appreciation of Hutterite thought and theology. A small paper of mine, "Die Habaner in der Slovakei," published in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Volkskunde,* XXXII, 1927, gave a folkloristic picture of what has remained of Hutterism in Europe. "Habaner" is the name of those brethren who in the eighteenth century had been converted by force to Catholicism and thus could stay unmolested at their Bruderhöfe (colonies).[5a] The small Anabaptist tract,

[5] An English translation of this paper appeared in the REVIEW, July, 1946, "The Epistles of the Hutterian Brethren, 1530-1650, a Study in Anabaptist Literature."

[5a] An English summary of this paper may be found in the *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems,* held at Freeman, South Dakota, August, 1946, 61-66.

"Concerning the True Soldier of Christ" (1534), was published in the MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW, 1931, so to say as a by-product of my research in Hutterite literature. The original of this tract is lost today; it was the only known tract from the Philippite Brethren in Moravia who first sang the hymns later collected in the *Ausbund*.

Strange contacts were achieved. Czech scholars in Moravia and Silesia, even in Prague, began to show interest in some aspects of Hutterite research. Dr. Karel Czernohorsky must be credited with the finest publication concerning Hutterite handicraft, mainly their ceramics and pottery. A copy of his main work is in Goshen College library; it is written in Czech language but with a German "resumé" and many beautiful plates.[6] The able former director of the Moravian Landesarchiv in Brno (Brünn), which preserves the Beck collection, Dr. Frantisek Hruby, published—partly upon a casual suggestion on my part—the results of his research also in the German language, entitled *Die Wiedertäufer in Mähren*, Leipzig, 1935. This book is particularly valuable for its use of new Czech source material dealing with the economic side of the Hutterite existence, mainly in Moravia. It shows that almost every noble estate in this territory prided itself on its splendid Hutterite pieces of ceramics. —One of the most enlightening studies in the history of Anabaptist ideas was produced by Ethelbert Staffer under the title, "Märtyrertheologie und Täufertum," published in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LII, 1933.[7] It demonstrates as one of the central ideas of Anabaptism the principle of "the suffering church" in this world; naturally Hutterite material provided the author with a major part of his proof texts.

Next we turn to the work of the Baptist preacher Wilhelm Wiswedel, a research scholar of high rank. The material which he found in the Beck collection of the Moravian Landesarchiv thoroughly captivated him. That was in the 1920's; in 1950 he is still continuing this type of work. His excellent *Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem Täufertum*, 2 vols., Kassel, 1928 and 1930,[8] unites solid scholarship with most appealing presentation. Naturally, these studies shed also new light on many phases and aspects of Hutterite life. The manuscript of Volume III is ready for print, and is to be published soon in Karlsruhe, Germany, with American aid. Wiswedel also published a number of excellent research papers, of which only the more important ones shall be mentioned here. "Das Schulwesen der Hutterischen Brüder," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 1940, uses the outstanding addresses of Peter Walpot concerning education, 1568, his school discipline, 1578, and other material which proves that Hutterite elementary education in the sixteenth century was definitely of a superior nature.[9]—"Gabriel Ascherham und die nach ihm benannte Bewegung," *Archiv für Reformations-Geschichte*, 1937,

[6] In my brief essay, "Christian Love in Action—the Hutterites," in *Mennonite Life*, July, 1946, pp. 42, 43, four samples of this lost art of ceramics are reproduced from Czernohorsky's book.

[7] An English translation of this study appeared in the REVIEW, July, 1945, under the title, "The Anabaptist Theology of Martyrdom."

[8] An extensive review of the first two volumes, by the present writer, may be found in the REVIEW, July, 1940.

[9] Cf. Harold S. Bender, "The Hutterite School Discipline of 1578 and Peter Scherer's Address of 1568 to the Schoolmasters," the REVIEW, October, 1931. (Based upon a study by W. Saliger, in a German educational journal, 1901.) The Wiswedel study discussed here contains also a Hutterite catechism (*Kinderlehre*) of 1620. This piece would deserve an English translation.

deals with an early schism among the Moravian Anabaptists and their final unification. —"Die Nikolsburger Artikel," *Zeitschrift für Bayrische Kirchengeschichte,* 1938, is particularly important because it proves once for all that these articles of ill-repute, accusing the Hutterites of anti-trinitarian leanings, were a forgery (made in Augsburg), and had nothing to do with any Anabaptist group.—"Die alten Täufergemeinden und ihr missionarisches Wirken," *Arch. f. Ref. Gesch.,* XL, 1943, and XLI, 1948, makes use of a rare Hutterite manuscript, called by Beck "codex ritualis," which contains the liturgy, so to say, used by the brethren at the occasion of the sending out of the brethren "missioners" into the four corners of the German-speaking land. It is well known that the Hutterites were possibly the most aggressive group among the Anabaptists regarding missionary work (or was it more proselytizing?). This was first stressed by Johann Loserth, and more recently restudied by Franklin H. Littell (see later). Many more articles by Wiswedel are published in the *Sendbote,* the magazine of the German Baptists in America (Cleveland), and a new series is announced to appear soon, again dealing in the main with Hutterite material and Hutterite doctrines.[10] Since this magazine, however, is not easily available, no further details are quoted here.

In connection with its great Täuferakten publication program, the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte made extensive plans toward a comprehensive edition of the Hutterite material. A committee was established to take care of this enterprise. The late Hans von Schubert, Professor of Church History at the University of Heidelberg and president of the Verein, was chairman; Johann Loserth (then 84) was named honorary adviser, while Dr. Lydia Müller (Leipzig), Dr. Paul Dedic (Graz), and I (Vienna) were named the scholarly workers who had to collect, transcribe, and edit the entire material available. Three or more volumes were scheduled. Dr. Müller's work, the tracts and doctrinal writings of the Hutterites, was at least partly published in 1938 (*Glaubenszeugnisse*). My own assignment concerned the epistolary literature of the brethren. The unhappy conditions of Europe after 1933, however, prevented any completion of this plan. Today, the transcripts of about sixty Hutterite epistles (about 1/5 of all epistles extant), prepared at that time, are kept in custody at Goshen College for possible later publication. Dr. Paul Dedic was to ransack all Austrian archives for records of trials, mandates, and other governmental documents. The material thus collected was tremendous; many thousands of documents were assembled and transcribed, a surprise even to the expert. But it could never be published. And now, 1950, the bad news comes to us that Dr. Dedic passed away recently. It may be assumed that his material went to the Landesarchiv of Styria, in Graz, for safekeeping, since Dr. Dedic worked at this place for the last ten years. Fortunately, he was able to publish at least some results of his arduous research: the *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* 1939, brought from his pen the fine study, "Social Background of the Austrian Anabaptists." It opens a new aspect and thus happily supplements all the earlier studies in Hutterite lore. With the coming of Nazism and the war, research nearly collapsed. There was very good intention on the part of the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, but nothing could be pub-

[10] Prediger Wiswedel writes me (April, 1950) that a study of his, entitled, "Die Reformation geht noch fort," will soon be published in the *Sendbote* (organ of the German Baptists in the U.S., Cleveland), dealing with the teachings of the Anabaptists concerning the New Testament concept of the church (Gemeinde), and likewise concerning baptism, Lord's Supper, discipline, mission to the unbelievers, etc.

lished after 1938. Whether the Hutterite material of the Täuferakten Kommission will ever come to light is quite uncertain in spite of the lively interest of historians of the Reformation period in this new field. Dr. Müller and Dr. Dedic are dead; Preacher Wiswedel is now 73; I myself have moved to the United States where German source publications are not likely to be carried out.

However, we cannot leave the old continent without mentioning two or three doctoral dissertations in our field deserving highest attention. The first one is by a certain Dr. Franz Heimann whose whereabouts could never be ascertained.[11] His Ph.D. dissertation entitled *Die Lehre von Kirche und Gemeinschaft in der Hutterischen Täufergemeinde,* 1927 (ms. at the University library, Vienna), is a first rank study of Hutterite thoughts and practices. Dr. Heimann starts with the question whether Peter Riedemann, author of the great *Rechenschaft* of 1545, was influenced to any great extent by the writings of Dr. Balthasar Hubmaier (d. 1528). The answer that this influence was but minimal, and that what was truly original with the Hutterites must be regarded as a product of their own genius, is but a minor part of Heimann's findings. More important are the positive formulations regarding the spiritual principles involved. Goshen College is fortunate enough to have a typescript copy of this dissertation, and it is hoped that it can be published in translation in the not too distant future.—Another dissertation is of quite recent origin. Dr. Hans Georg Fischer, a Lutheran minister of Vienna, Austria, wrote his thesis on *Jacob Huter, ein Bild evangelischer Frömmigkeit aus dem 16. Jahrhundert* (1949), submitted to the Evangelical Theol. Faculty of the University of Vienna. This paper consists of three parts: the life of Jacob Huter, the theology of Huter, and the full text of the eight existing epistles of this leader, brought together in this way for the first time. The most original part is of course the second one which advances our grasp of Anabaptist theology very much. The Hutterites in America are anxious to have this first complete biography of their leader printed, and the Historical Committee of the General Conference Mennonites is considering its publication (ed. Dr. C. Krahn, Bethel Coll.). There is hope that the second part will also be published in an English translation in the Review in 1951. Dr. Fischer has shown unusual enthusiasm for the Anabaptist vision, and there are indications that it will be he who will carry on the torch of Hutterite research in Europe, especially in Austria. A third doctoral thesis dealing with *Das Täufertum im Tiroler Unterlande* by Dr. E. Widmoser (ms. Un. Libr. Innsbruck, Tyrol) centers around the Anabaptist trials in Tyrol during the sixteenth century. This subject proved to be less profitable for the advancement of our knowledge of the Hutterite story. The author studied many court records, but the result is somewhat monotonous, and offers not too much beyond what was already known through Loserth's great study on the Anabaptists in Tyrol (1892/93).

We now turn to the advancement of Hutterite research in the United States. The elder historian of both Mennonitism and Hutterite life here is no doubt John Horsch (d. 1941). As already mentioned above it was he who first brought about a contact with the Hutterites in Canada, mainly with the very active "Vorsteher" Elias Walter of Stand-Off Colony, near McLeod, Alberta, Canada. That was as early as 1890 or even before.

[11] In spite of my earnest endeavor, Dr. Heimann is the only scholar in the field whom I could never contact even though he graduated not long after myself from the same university.

Horsch knew the text of both the larger and the smaller chronicle of the Hutterites, and he used both sources for his excellent monograph., *The Hutterian Brethren, a Story of Loyalty and Martyrdom,* Scottdale, Pa., 1931. It is an important book, very well written and well documented, the first comprehensive study of the Hutterites in English language. Horsch had contact with practically every scholar in the field of Anabaptistica, and this fact helped greatly the promotion of further research. From time to time, the MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW published valuable Hutterite material. Harold S. Bender, for instance, translated a German study concerning the school system of the Brethren, entitled, "The Hutterite School Discipline of 1578 and Peter Scherer's Address of 1568 to the Schoolmasters," REVIEW, 1931. This preceded W. Wiswedel's related paper of 1940. He likewise translated Paul Tschetter's diary of 1873 (when this brother came over from Russia to find new land), again REVIEW, 1931.[12] Also my own paper, "Concerning a True Soldier of Christ, a Hitherto Unknown Tract of the Philippite Brethren in Moravia" (1534), was published in Bender's translation in the REVIEW, 1931. Other papers in translations in the REVIEW, are the one by Paul Dedic (1939), by Ethelbert Stauffer, (1945), and my study on the Hutterite epistles (1946).

Perhaps I may be permitted to enumerate at this place briefly my own contributions in the field of Hutterite lore since my coming to Goshen College in 1940. The Chapter VIII of my book, *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries,* Goshen, Ind., 1949, deals with "Discussions Between the Hutterite Brethren and the Moravians," using in the main J. Th. Müller's stimulating research study on this subject, published 1910, in the *Zeitschrift für Brüdergeschichte.* In my paper, "Encounter of the Anabaptists and Mennonites with Anti-Trinitarianism" (REVIEW, 1947), the strange contacts of the Hutterite Brethren with members of the (Socinian) Polish Church are further discussed, with some new material hitherto overlooked.[13] In the same context belongs also the shorter paper, "Reason and Obedience, an old Anabaptist Letter of Peter Walpot (1571) and Its Meaning" (REVIEW, 1945), in which the idea of the filial obedience of an earnest Christian toward the commandments of God is argued about and placed in opposition to the more sophisticated theology of the Unitarians. This idea of obedience to the Word of God is, no doubt, one of the main pillars of Anabaptism. It presupposes a certain simplicity (*Einfalt*) of the mind.—"The Adventures of a Hutterite Brother in Turkey, 1607-1710," appeared in the REVIEW, 1942, taking its material from a rare Hutterite source now most likely lost.—A section from the *Klein-Geschichts-Buch* provided the material for a paper entitled, "An Anabaptist Ordinance on Non-Resistance, 1633" (REVIEW, 1951); it is my hope that this recent study will stimulate more discussions of the background and the arguments of this basic Anabaptist-Mennonite principle of nonresistance. The Anabaptist literature on this subject is not yet too well known.—An illustrated popular article on the Hutterites in *Mennonite Life,* I, 1946 ("Christian Love in Action—The Hutterites"), has found quite sympathetic attention. It represents a brief summary of things Hutterite worth knowing.

[12] The German original of Paul Tschetter's Diary appeared in Zieglschmid's *Klein-Geschichtbuch* (1947), pp. 571-606.

[13] Some new material concerning these contacts became known through E. M. Wilbur's great work, *A History of Unitarianism,* etc., Harvard Press, 1946. This material is written in the Polish language, and would certainly deserve a translation.

The entire scope of Hutterite lore was the main theme of the *Fifth Annual Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems,* held at Freeman, South Dakota, in August, 1946. The *Proceedings* contain much good material (lectures and discussion), yet the brochure is hard to find in any library. Bethel College still has a stock of it.

A new and very productive worker in the field here in America came from a most unexpected side, namely, that of Germanistic language research. Professor A. J. F. Zieglschmid (1903-1950), then teaching at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, discovered on his European trip of 1938 almost the same manuscripts which before him Beck, Loserth, Wolkan, Müller, and Friedmann had studied. (They are kept in Slovakian and Hungarian libraries and archives.) At first these writings were to him just interesting sources of early *Neuhochdeutsch* with a Bavarian slant, and he brought transcripts of these sources along for possible publication. (See REVIEW, January and April issues, 1941, and October, 1943.) But soon he caught fire. He sensed that there was more to this material than its mere quality of a philological monument. He visited the Hutterite colonies in South Dakota, lived with the brethren for weeks, and gained their confidence. The result of this contact is truly remarkable: two large volumes published and a third large one in manuscript. *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder,* Philadelphia, 1943, is a diplomatic edition of the "larger" chronicle of the brethren, and comprises 1050 pages. Four years later, *Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder,* Philadelphia, 1947, was published, a complete edition of the "smaller" chronicle, with a total of 860 pages. It contains the above-mentioned text by Johannes Waldner up to 1802, a first edition of high value, and then its continuation compiled by the editor from many sources, up to 1947—a rich material in more than one regard. Ziegelschmid's industry and gift for finding relevant material is truly amazing.[14] The Appendices of this *Klein-Geschichtsbuch* (pp. 501-683) provide us again with first-rate source material, otherwise unobtainable. A complete collection of the unique *Gemeinde-Ordnungen,* 1651-1873, deserve here particular mention. (All this material was taken from handwritten sources preserved through the centuries by the brethren.) Another great enhancement of the volume is an almost complete bibliography of Hutterite studies and sources, with 374 items. The volume concludes with a well-rounded subject index, again a first in this field, which will prove invaluable for future research.—It is most tragic that Zieglschmid's premature death in 1950 prevented him from publishing his third large volume, a revised and greatly enlarged edition of the *Hutterisches Liederbuch.* (The typescript of about 4500 pp. is now kept in the Mennonite Church Archive, Goshen, Ind.) It is our hope that it can be published posthumously together with Zieglschmid's research in the history of the tunes, and a musicologist's transcript of the tunes themselves. Zieglschmid published also a valuable German paper in our field, "Die ungarischen Wiedertäufer bei Grimmelshausen" in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* June, 1940,[15] which summarizes his findings of his European research trip, 1938.[16] Two further documentary articles appeared in the *Mennonite*

[14] Cf. my extensive review in REVIEW, July, 1948.

[15] Zieglschmid published an excerpt of this paper in *Publ. of Mod. Language Assn.* (PMLA), December, 1939, 1031-1040.

[16] An erroneous hypothesis concerning the "Brethren from Thessalonica," who once came to Moravia to visit the Hutterites, was cleared up by Friedmann in his paper, "Encounter of the Anabaptists and Mennonites with Anti-Trinitarianism," REVIEW,

Quarterly Review: "Unpublished Sixteenth Century Letters of the Hutterian Brethren" (Jan., and April, 1941) and "A Song of the Persecution of the Hutterites in Velke Levary" (July, 1943). The first article presents five letters of 1527 to 1535, the second a historical hymn of 80 stanzas reporting the defection in 1725 of a Hutterite community to Catholicism. No doubt, Zieglschmid contributed much to make the name of the Hutterites known among scholars of all kinds, and his source publications will remain much in use. Several articles of his in the *American-German Review* (1942) were welcome popularizations of the theme.

Occasionally an academic dissertation or thesis in this country is devoted to Hutterite life. In 1924, Bertha W. Clark published in the *Journal of Political Economy* (University of Chicago) her excellent study, "The Hutterian Communities," based on personal contacts during a prolonged stay with the brethren. She was primarily interested in the economic principles of the group, but soon understood that there is more to it than a merely "economic" community of goods. In 1939, L. E. Deets wrote a Ph.D. dissertation at Columbia University entitled, *The Hutterites, a Study in Social Cohesion,* again based on firsthand investigations. He concentrated upon the sociological aspect of Hutterite life (first study 1931), lived for some time in the colonies, but unfortunately lacked some deeper insight into the spiritual roots of this kind of life. Thus he does not reach far beyond the popular "case" study type, without major advancement in our knowledge of Hutterite principles.—In 1930, D. E. Harder wrote an M.A. thesis for Bethel College under the title, *The Hutterian Church.* I have not seen this paper and assume that it has never been published.—At present Dr. Joseph W. Eaton of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Wayne University, Detroit, is engaged in another case study regarding Hutterism, which is subsidized by the U.S. Health Service. Dr. Eaton and collaborators are set to find out the reasons why there is such excellent mental health among these brethren, in spite of much intermarriage. It is well known that mental cases are exceedingly rare among the brethren, thus belying all sociological asumptions. Fortunately, Dr. Eaton has a fine grasp of the spiritual conditioning of the life of the brethren, and he is inclined to give high credit to these intangibles. The work is going on at the present time, and the results will be published in some near future. All told, it seems that such a study represents but a marginal contribution to Hutterite lore, though it may contribute to the solution of the American mental health problem.

A particular paragraph should be devoted to the work of Dr. Franklin H. Littell, formerly of the University of Michigan, and now in Germany serving in the Religious Affairs Branch of the American government. His Ph.D. thesis (under Professor R. H. Bainton, Yale) deals with *The Anabaptist View of the Church* (1946). It places the idea of the "Restitution" of the primitive church in the very center of Anabaptist theology. A great deal of the source material used for this work is taken from Hutterite testimonies such as, e.g., Lydia Müller's *Glaubenszeugnisse.* Though the treatment is comprehensive and general, taking Anabaptism as a large whole, the Hutterites yet loom very high in Dr. Littell's book. And that not only because this source material is more ample and readily available but more so because the strongly organized Hutterite

July, 1948, 147, note 28. These men were in all likelihood Socinian refugees from Venice who had found relative safety in Turkey.

church can be taken as a master example for this idea of "restitution."[17] As I understand, the book will soon be published in a series edited by the American Church Historical Society. Needless to say, Dr. Littell is thoroughly familiar with the entire vast literature in this field, and in warm sympathy with this "Left Wing" group of the Reformation time. The REVIEW has published two enlightening related essays by Dr. Littell, one in January, 1947, entitled, "The Anabaptist Theology of Missions," and another one in January, 1950, entitled, "The Anabaptist Doctrine of the Restitution of the True Church." Both papers are richly documented from about the same sources as mentioned above. The first study about the theology of missions deals in the main with "The Great Commission" which the Anabaptists in general felt as their central concern, and which the Hutterites in particular followed up with never-ending zeal and aggressiveness. Hence the growth of their church in Moravia. We know something about the zeal through the earlier mentioned study by W. Wiswedel. Dr. Littell gives further evidence to this phenomeon, calling the Hutterites outright "a missionary community." The second study on the idea of restitution repeats somewhat his greater work, developing in detail the implications of such a program or vision.

A minor though interesting detail of the Hutterite settlement in America has found attention in a study by Professor K. J. Arndt, "The Harmonists and the Hutterians."[18] From it we learn that between 1875 and 1885 these communist settlers, sometimes called Rappites, offered a helping hand to the newly immigrated Hutterites, both in Dakota and also in a settlement experiment in Pennsylvania. An elaborate correspondence is still extant and may one day be published by Dr. Arndt.

Publication of Hutterite source material is naturally one of the most urgent requirements for any deeper appreciation of this group as well as of all Anabaptists. We cannot talk about the Hutterites, or for that matter about Anabaptists in general, without knowing their literature, their confessions, epistles, tracts, defense, ets. True, some material his been published, but much more is still pending. Zieglschmid's Chronicles, Müller's *Glaubenszeugnisse,* Bossert's bulky volume (Württemberg) are to us just suggestions of what still could and should be done. Lydia Müller's second volume, Zieglschmid's Hutterite hymnal (*Liederbuch*), Dr. Dedic's Austrian archive material are a few items of this kind. Peter Riedemann's great *Rechenschaft unseres Glaubens* (1545), published for the last time as a private printing by the Eberhard Arnold group in 1939, has been translated into English and is being brought out in the fall of 1950 by the (English) Hutterite Brethren, Wheathill Bruderhof, Bridgnorth, Shropshire, England. It represents a most welcome document of Anabaptist thought, now available in English. But still more is needed. I myself am hoping to be able to publish the Hutterite epistles as far as they are available. The present collection comprises about sixty epistles, and some more might still be added from new sources; but there is hardly any chance to publish all epistles extant (about three hundred). An English "Reader" of Anabaptist texts is, no doubt, the most urgent desideratum. The younger generation of scholars in this country will

[17] It is, for instance, well known that the Hutterites base their specific doctrine of community of goods on the similar practice of the early church in Jerusalem. Acts 4. See the discussion on this point in the Freeman, S.D., *Proceedings,* 1946.

[18] Karl J. Arndt, "The Harmonists and the Hutterians," *American-German Review,* X, August, 1944. The main contents of this study is repeated in Zieglschmid's *Klein-Geschichtsbuch,* 461-464.

need translated material for their further interpretation. When and how this will be done is at present a moot question. We would truly need a "Foundation" to carry out such large plans, paralleling the German *Täuferakten* publication.

One side of Hutterite activities has not found any attention thus far—their preaching. What Dr. Roy Umble has achieved for present-day Mennonitism, namely, an expert study of preaching in the Mennonite Church, its contents and its forms, should also be tried with the Hutterites who follow an older (seventeenth or eighteenth century) tradition of reading their sermons from time-honored sermon collections. The existence of these *Vorreden* (sermons) was not known at all until recently; most likely they would yield quite valuable insights into the spiritual life of the group, to be sure not exactly of the original pattern but of that of later centuries. The *Klein Geschichtsbuch* contains on pp. 204 to 221 a good collection of such "Reden," in the main dealing with the decay of the brotherhood and what should be done to stop it (order, tradition). Another subject never under scrutiny is the medical knowledge of the Hutterian Brethren. It is well known that they had excellent physicians and surgeons among them; one Georg Zobel was called to the court of Emperor Rudolph II in Prague in 1581 (and he actually cured the emperor), another physician, Balthasar Goller, accompanied the imperial ambassador Count Herberstein on his journey to Constantinople (1608/9), and so on. They had popular barbers and surgeons who were much in demand among the Moravian aristocracy. A wealth of medical recipes survived which are still in use. (One is by Pilgram Marpeck.) The transcript of an *Arznei Handbüchl* (medical manual) of 1635 is awaiting publication.

But above all the major issue in all Anabaptist research at the present time centers around the not yet fully formulated "theology of Anabaptism." What the ideas of the Anabaptists concerning sin and salvation, the kingdom of God on earth, the concept of the church, the justification for nonconformity, etc., perhaps even the question of community of goods. Hutterite material should prove particularly valuable and best suited to guide us in the appreciation of Anabaptist life and dedication. The Review issue of January, 1950, contains such a first attempt, and Hutterite ideas are amply quoted therein. Still more will be done in the near future, as we hope. A new interest is awakened among the younger generation of Mennonite scholars. And it seems as if this interest is not merely academic. The Anabaptist spirit is still alive, and the Hutterite witnessing has something significant to add to this spirit.—*Robert Friedmann.*

A. J. F. Zieglschmid, an Obituary

On April 14, 1950, Professor A. J. F. Zieglschmid died after an illness of only twenty-four hours. His death is deplored not only by his wife but also by the many who deeply respected his personal and scholastic qualities. Mennonite historians in particular have reason to be saddened: a great manuscript dealing with the Hutterite hymns lies before us, almost finished and yet only half done since the planned second volume remained unwritten. From the midst of the untiring scholarly activities a brain hemorrhage took from us a man who inadvertently had become one of the foremost scholars in the field of Hutterite lore. Dr. Zieglschmid, born in 1903 in Germany and since 1922 residing in this country, professor of Germanic linguistics and literature, formerly at Northwestern University (Evanston, Ill.), and at the time of his death at the University of Akron, Ohio, was first and foremost a philologist. By chance he learned of rare sources of old New High-German language—the Hutterite manuscript books. In 1938, he took the opportunity of a trip to Europe to search in the libraries of Slovakia and Hungaria for these documents. A rich harvest was brought home of which only a small part has been published thus far (in different articles in the REVIEW, 1941, 1942, 1943, and elsewhere). Then Professor Zieglschmid went to South Dakota to "discover" the Hutterites and their two precious chronicles. It was a real discovery: out of a philologist with little or no interest in church history grew a man really dedicated to Hutterite research for its own value. He stayed an entire summer at Bon Homme Bruderhof, near Tabor, S. D., and gained the confidence of the revered Elder Michael Waldner. The brethren gave him in trust first the manuscript of their greater (older) chronicle, the *Gross Geschichts Buch,* for a meticulous copying. Almost day and night Zieglschmid worked at this task, the result of which was a 1200-page volume, *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder,* 1943 (reviewed in detail by the present writer in the REVIEW, 1944), our present standard source of the Hutterite story. The scholarly apparatus of index, glossary, bibliography, footnotes, maps, etc., makes the volume invaluable in more than one regard. Then Professor Zieglschmid set to work to do a similar piece of work for the other chronicle, the *Klein-Geschichtsbuch,* 1947, again published under the auspices of the Carl Schurz Foundation, Philadelphia. This time an 860-page volume of like value was produced, not as letter-correct as the former edition but in modernized language (see REVIEW, July, 1948). Zieglschmid had a great source to copy for the period up to 1802—Johannes Waldner's *Denkwürdigkeiten.* For the period 1802-1947, he had to plow his own way, using a most amazing variety of otherwise almost unknown materials to complete the story. This done, our author, no longer primarily the philologist but the lover of Hutterite literature for its own sake, decided to scrutinize the existing *Hutterisches Liederbuch* (Scottdale, 1914). He found it a most remarkable source of Anabaptist hymns, mainly of the sixteenth century, yet faulty in many regards. Thus a scholarly clean-up work began; many a hymn was dropped as not being Hutterite, other hymns were corrected and their original form re-established, but above all a great number of new hymns was added from Hutterite sources. The result is a monumental manuscript of 4150 sheets, at present stored in the Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen College Library, until the time will come, as we hope, that it, too, can be published. But Professor Zieglschmid was not satisfied with a mere text edition of these hymns. On several trips to South Dakota and Canada, with the musicologist Dr. Beltz, the

tunes of these hymns as sung today by the Hutterite brethren were transcribed and then compared with existent folklore material of the late Middle Ages and early Modern Times. Remarkable analogies were discovered, similar to those studied by G. P. Jackson with regard to Amish hymns (see REVIEW, January, 1950). Whether this musicological volume will ever be actualized is at the moment a moot question. But Zieglschmid's devotion to Hutterite research had still wider perspectives. The Hutterite epistles of the sixteenth century was one of his contemplated projects (he owned transcripts of about sixty such letters, made in Europe), possibly in collaboration with the present writer. Likewise, a small but highly interesting Hutterite work, the *Arznei Büchlein* of 1632, a manual of remedies and drugs, should be published, most likely with the collaboration of an expert in the history of medicine. This booklet seems to have been a text extracted from the works of Paracelsus, and for that reason most remarkable.

All this work was suddenly broken up, when an inscrutible fate called the man to his eternal reward. Personally I want to add a few more words beyond this scholarly appraisal, and they have to do with Zieglschmid as friend and fellow worker. By our common interest we came close to each other. He was no historian by nature and more than once consulted me for my advice in these matters; on the other hand, I owe him a debt of gratitude for the very concrete deeds of service which he offered in great modesty and in a matter-of-fact fashion. Something of the Anabaptist spirit had taken hold of him, and his loyalty to this cause was genuine and lasting. May he rest in peace. —*Robert Friedmann.*

BOOK REVIEWS

The Bloody Theatre or Martyrs' Mirror of the Defenseless Christians who baptized only upon confession of faith, and who suffered and died for the testimony of Jesus, their Saviour, from the time of Christ to the year A.D. 1660. Compiled from various authentic chronicles, memorials and testimonies by THIELEMAN J. VAN BRAGHT. Translated from the original Dutch or Holland language from the edition of 1660 by Joseph F. Sohm [in 1886]. [Published in 1886 by the Mennonite Publishing Company, Elkhart, Indiana, reprinted in 1938 by the Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa., and again reprinted by Mennonite Publishing House Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1950], pp. 1157, folio, $9.75.

This new edition of the famous Mennonite *Martyrs' Mirror* is an exact reprint of the 1938 edition, which in turn was a reprint of the 1886 Elkhart edition, which in turn was translated directly from the 1660 first Dutch edition. This edition thus has a great advantage over the 1837 Rupp English edition of coming direct from the original, like the Hanserd Knollys London English edition of 1853, whereas Rupp translated from the 1748-49 Ephrata German edition. Sohm, the Elkhart translator, was not a real scholar; hence, his translation could be much improved. However, the publishers have chosen to reissue the 1886 edition rather than bring out a new translation, for one reason for economy's sake, and also because the constituency which has furnished the largest portion of the buyers of this as well as the 1938 edition, namely, the conservative Mennonite branches known as the Old Order Mennonites and the Old Order Amish, insist upon an exact perpetuation of the 1886 format and text.

While the new edition is an exact reprint page for page of the previous edition, including the famous illustrations by Jan Luiken (except for the omission of the frontispiece), certain minor additions add to its value. There have been slight changes in a few headings to make them more clear. A table of contents and a list of illustrations has been added as well as a brief preface by John C. Wenger, Secretary of the Historical Committee of the Mennonite General Conference, which gives information about previous editions. The major addition, however, is fifteen pages of indexes, which, by the use of small type and three columns on the large pages, contain a very large amount of material. First comes an "Index of Anabaptists Who Were Persecuted or Martyred 1525-1560." Here for the first time is a complete alphabetical list of all martyrs reported by van Braght, with over twelve hundred names included. This is followed by a list of the popes and emperors referred to in the first part of the volume which covers church history before the reformation, and a very extensive general index with over two thousand entries of persons, places, and subjects. These indexes were prepared by Ira D. Landis, a minister in the Lancaster Mennonite Conference and a member of the Mennonite Historical Committee. Landis had also compiled an index of the sources quoted by van Braght, but when it was discovered that the translator had been careless in transferring book titles from the Dutch into English and that consequently it would be necessary to verify the titles through a scrutiny of the original Dutch Edition of 1660, it was decided to delay the publication of this index of sources until later.

This latest issue of a great book was undertaken with some hesitation because of the cost involved. It is encouraging to know that the entire edition of twenty-five hundred copies is well on the way to being sold out within the first year of publication, and that another edition is probable

within a few years. This reviewer would urge the publishers to consider an edition containing only the Anabaptist-Mennonite section of the book, called by van Braght the "second part," and which would still be a folio volume of eight hundred double column pages. The next edition should also contain a scholarly introduction giving the history of the book, an evaluation of its reliability, and an analysis of its contents.

It may be of interest to know that a new German edition of the *Martyrs' Mirror* is also in preparation at this moment. It is being printed for the Old Order Amish by the Musselman Printing Company of Berne, Indiana, and will be available late in 1950.

Goshen College Harold S. Bender.

Bluffton College an Adventure in Faith 1900-1950. By the faculty of Bluffton College. Bluffton, Ohio: Bluffton College, 1950. Pp. 268. $2.00.

This book is an important contribution to the literature on the history of Mennonite education. Twenty-five years ago C. Henry Smith and E. J. Hirschler wrote *The Story of Bluffton,* a book published in connection with the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Bluffton College. The present book contains less historical material and fewer details of the early history of Bluffton College than the earlier work. Many of the same features, however, are combined in the new work, and the entire story is brought up to date. The editor's name is not given. The title page of the book indicates simply that it has been written by the faculty of Bluffton College. The foreword, however, lists specific names but does not indicate any one of these names as being the editor. Differences in the style of the different chapters would suggest that different authors have been responsible for individual chapters. At times the use of the word "I," as for example on pages 52, 146, and 155, would indicate that these sections were written by individuals.

The book opens with a chapter giving a brief historical survey of the entire history of Bluffton College. The second chapter devotes particular attention to some of the individuals who were responsible for the beginning of Bluffton College. The other chapters in the book outline specific aspects of the work of the institution. For example, there are two excellent chapters describing the curriculum of the college: one a general description and the other a statement concerning the progress in general education that has been made in the school. Other chapters deal with such subjects as the alumni, the financial contributors, the place which Christian faith occupies in the institution, the extracurricular activity program, and the service of the institution to world peace.

The values of this book are many. In the first place, the book was written with the hope that the reader would gain an appreciation of the activities of Bluffton College through the years. This goal is well realized. Especially does one recognize the early struggles which the institution went through, the untiring efforts made by the faculty and the administration to improve the quality of the institution, and the attempts of the college to promote a thorough peace witness even in the difficult days of the two World Wars. One also gains an appreciation of the tremendous financial sacrifices made by faculty members and administrators of this college and of the part that these sacrifices have played in building the institution.

In the second place, one finds in a book of this kind a great source of inspiration for others who are engaged in the work of Christian higher

education. Particularly is this true as one reads of the constant growth and improvement of the facilities of the college. It is also evident in the description of the part that graduates of Bluffton College are playing in the work of the world today. Certainly one must agree that Christian higher education as promoted by this group of Mennonites has been an effective force in the world as a whole and that its impact will continue to be felt.

In the third place, the most important of all in this reviewer's estimation, this book should serve as an important book of source material for educators in other institutions of higher learning and especially those operated by the various Mennonite groups. Particularly along this line does one appreciate the two chapters on the curriculum and general education at Bluffton College. The frank way in which these chapters have been written should be a source of substantial assistance to others who are planning similar programs. In other parts of the book, financial officers will find material of interest, as for example the warning against undue emphasis upon pledges in financial drives. Suggestions made that faculty members working on their Ph.D.'s should be allowed a monthly stipend should strike an appreciative response in many of the readers.

A few of the shortcomings of the book might also be mentioned. Although the book as a whole is well written, there are a regrettable number of typographical errors such as appear on pages 59, 60, 62, 150, 165, 201, 251, 264.

The concluding chapter of the book giving the vision of the future of the institution presents an unusually well-balanced approach. Although mention is made of the building and financial needs of the college, considerable attention is also given to the composition of the student body and to desired curriculum changes. Certainly all of these factors must be considered if a college is to serve the requirements of its constituency.

Goshen College. Carl Kreider.

Thirty-five years in the Congo, A History of the Demonstrations of Divine Power in the Congo. By William B. Weaver, M.A. Chicago: Congo Inland Mission, 1945. Pp. 241. $1.25.

This book purports to sketch the joint missionary endeavor in the Belgian Congo by two of the smaller Mennonite groups, the Defenseless Mennonites and the Central Conference of Mennonites. Considerable space is given to a statement both of the purpose of and warrant for missions. The author's stated intent is to confront his readers with "the great opportunity and responsibility in the great missionary enterprise." It is his belief that a "church which isolates itself from its past and dedicates itself only to its present and future will eventually fail." He emphasizes the redemptive love of God in Christ as the dominant motive in missions.

Chapter III of the book deals with a description of the continent of Africa in general, and the Belgian Congo in particular. Following this is introduced the religious complexion of the Congo native life. In Chapter V the author reviews the ways in which Central Africa was opened up to the outside world, chiefly by the explorers Livingstone and Stanley. Thus, approximately one fourth of the book is taken up with materials which do not bear directly upon the special purpose of the book. These materials might well be assumed as basic to any story of missionary enterprise in the Congo and therefore would not need to be repeated here.

It is in Chapter VI that the story of missions in the Kasai River basin is actually introduced. The record is carried forward through subsequent chapters which develop particularly the way in which the current co-operative effort was forged. It includes some of the experimentations which were attempted in working with missionary groups and individuals outside their own constituencies. The initial phases of the work, embracing the struggles and adjustments incident to pioneer work, are described in Chapters VII to X. Here is preserved a great deal that otherwise would be forgotten, for the rigorous beginnings and patient consolidation of work are frequently lost sight of in the mature years of a mission's growth.

The work as developed and maintained on each of the four main stations (Charlesville, Kalama, Nyanga, Mukedi) is presented in Chapters XI to XIV. The primary emphasis common to all these centers is the evangelistic one. Through vigorous, itinerant effort and a growing number of outstations, the church channels its redemptive life into the surrounding areas. Essential to this emphasis is the major share which the converted natives play in this church outreach.

A full chapter is given to a discussion of the work on each of the four central stations. Small beginnings are traced into significant developments in mature churches. The spearhead of evangelism has had its wholesome fruitage in steady ingatherings. The educational ministry is also recognized as an essential element in the total Christian impact. A literate church, as well as an adequately prepared leadership, are dependent upon this type of service. Along with these, medical services and limited industrial training are integral in the witness of these four main centers. The author pays tribute to the splendid spirit of co-operation among various groups and organizations which has made possible the consistent progress of the Congo Inland Mission.

It is unfortunate that the book bears evidences of poor publishing skill. Interchanged lines, misspelled words, etc., serve to lessen the attractiveness of this publication. It must also be said that the author's handling of materials leaves something to be desired. For example, an error of five years in the dating of the death of a worker (p. 71) raises a question as to the carefulness of the author's research. Furthermore, there is a considerable amount of repetitious material, which will seem superfluous to the mature reader. However, it must be stressed that the book will serve a useful purpose in acquainting a constituency with this praiseworthy and fruitful work which has been sponsored in the Congo.

Goshen College. John H. Mosemann.

The Love of Christ Hath Constrained Us; Celebrating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Mennonite Mission, Dhamtari, C. P., India, 1899-1949. Sponsored by the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities and published by the Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa., 1949. Pp. 63. Illustrated. $.50; De luxe Edition, $1.00.

On November 22, 1949, the American Mennonite Mission in India celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding by Bishop J. A. Ressler and Dr. and Mrs. W. B. Page, who first camped under the trees in the beautiful mango grove west of the present site of the Sundarganj mission quarters and on the western boundary of the city of Dhamtari. Your reviewer, having given forty years (1905:1945) of service in this mission, greatly appreciates this most enlightening and inspiring report. One outstanding feature of the booklet is the fine collection of sixty-six pictures

illustrating different phases of Indian church and community life. The booklet is "dedicated to the Mennonite youth in India and the homeland, that they may see the path that leads to unfinished tasks and to the doors of hearts yet closed to Jesus the Redeemer, that they may accept the sacred torch that is aglow with the power of the Gospel, and, seeking out the lost, bring them to the throne of the King of kings and Lord of lords." Both the pictures and the content present a challenge to the church. They clearly show how the love of Christ through the years has constrained the many missionaries who have come and gone to help the needy who were ravaged by famine, to teach the unlearned, to heal the sick, to preach the Gospel of salvation and everlasting life, and to build up the church and community life of the people won for Christ. The booklet expresses a deep appreciation for the many Indian co-workers who themselves had been "released from captive chains" of drugs, drink, demon worship, and dissipation, and who in turn have won many of their fellow countrymen to Christ. They as faithful Indian parents in building Christian homes have demonstrated the love of Christ by their thrift, integrity, and social and business relationships with their fellow men. They have been a light in the dark world of the heart of India.

The booklet as a sequel to the twenty-fifth anniversary book, "Building on the Rock," should have a place in every Mennonite home.

Goshen College George J. Lapp

Refus de la Guerre: La Communaute Internationale des Chretiens et la Resistance active non-violente. By Daniel Parker. Mouvement International de la Reconciliation, Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, France, 1949. Pp. 157. 210 francs.

Daniel Parker is a French Protestant author, already well known for his numerous pamphlets on social questions. His book *Refus de la Guerre (No to War: International Christian Fellowship and Non-violent Active Resistance)* is the first book-sized work to appear in France on the general subject of Christian pacifism. Parker is also responsible for a declaration of the National Synod of the French Reformed Church, recognizing war as a manifestation of man's sin and promising full fellowship to all members who refuse the use of violence.

His book, as one would expect of the first to come out of the French peace movement, is a general compilation of all approaches to the subject of pacifism. One chapter deals with the sociological proofs that war is stupid and settles nothing, that the age of sovereign nations is past; another describes the nonviolent resistance of Gandhi; and others deal with the matter from the viewpoints of Bible study and church history.

This apparent scattering of interest in somewhat disparate directions might seem to those who are acquainted with the American peace movements to be a sign of inconsistency. On the contrary, however, it is fully representative of the present French peace movement. Young and weak in numbers, French pacifism has not had the intellectual leisure to draw the fine lines between nonresistance, internationalism, Gandhism, and anarchism; nor the internal opposition that has driven us in the States to think in such terms, to the extent of paralyzing our ability to co-operate and decreasing our capacity for Christian fellowship. One senses in the French pacifist world the values of being small and struggling, too busy working together to stop and define terms in a way that would drive them apart. Despite the several vaguenesses and unresolved or unseen inconsistencies which appear

great to an American accustomed to arguments between pacifists, the thought of this book, as of the movement in general, is basically Biblical and evangelical.

The book is amply documented with a bibliography and eight appendices on the positions of certain governments, the United Nations, the churches, and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation on the questions of war and conscientious objection. It becomes automatically the one authoritative book in French on the position of the Christian pacifist.

Nancy, France John Howard Yoder

The Brenneman History. By Albert H. Gerbrich. Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1938, Pp. 1217. $5.00.

What does one look for in a family history? Why is such a book written? Who prepares a family tree? Who reads it?

In preparing an answer to these questions and to similar ones the writer of this review examined a number of books of this type, but more carefully studied *The Brenneman History,* by Albert H. Gerberich, a book for sale only by Albert H. Gerberich, Sr., Parkesburg, Pennsylvania. Its 1217 pages deal with the American descendants of one Melchior Brenneman, an exile from Europe, who was born in Switzerland about 1631.

On January 1, 1672, this Swiss Mennonite minister lived with his wife and his seven children along with others of his faith, in the village of Griesheim, twenty miles from Worms in Germany. He was one of the fifty-three destitute families of exiles there at that time, who had been forced to leave Canton Berne in Switzerland, because of their Anabaptist practice of adult rebaptism on confession of faith. This Anabaptist doctrine was considered heretical in a high degree, and carried with it persecution, torture, and even death, or permanent exile to lands where the Anabaptists were inaccessible to their persecutors. It seems that Melchior himself never reached America. However, on account of persecution following these exiles into the Palatinate, several of his sons did later come to Pennsylvania.

The chief family line described in this Brenneman history follows the descendants of Melchior Brenneman, son of the original Swiss Melchior Brenneman, and who, too, was a Mennonite minister. Martin G. Weaver, in his *Mennonites of Lancaster County,* calls him a Mennonite bishop. He settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, sometime shortly after 1709, which was only about twenty-six years after the earliest Mennonite families settled in Germantown in 1683.

There are a few diagrams. These seem to be well chosen to illustrate the spirit of the persecuted pioneer. One of them is a reproduction of the castle of Thun in Switzerland where Melchior Brenneman was held for some time as a prisoner, not for crime as we understand the term, but merely because of a religious belief which was contrary to the beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church, as well as contrary to that of the other Protestants of that time, and to the secular rulers of the day. There are several drawings to illustrate stages in the family migration. One represents the territory near Berne, Switzerland, where the family lived prior to the migration from Europe. The second represents the area in Conestoga Township, near the Conestoga River in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where the family first settled in America.

Nine hundred and seventy-one pages are given to the listing of the individuals descended from the original Brenneman ancestor and to the

various descriptive introductions, footnotes, and other historical summaries. The book closes with an index of two hundred and forty-five pages of double-column names, giving pages in the book where the history is to be found for each direct descendant of Melchior Brenneman.

The book is well printed, on good quality paper, in type large enough to be easily legible. Twenty-seven pages are given to thirteen appendices on details concerning the family name, background history from Europe, Brenneman Coat of Arms, Brenneman reunions, interesting family traditions, and a rather good illustration of a short prose essay somewhat patterned after poetry, and written by Joseph Brenneman of Sporting Hill, Pennsylvania.

No numbering system is used by the editor of the history. The families are merely added one to another without any systematic attempt to identify each one separately so that it can be located through the index. This is a rather serious handicap. There is also a very inadequte geographical index.

Goshen College Silas Hertzler